

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE LATE THEODORE ROOSEVELT, TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Theodore Roosevelt died at his home in Oyster Bay, New York, in the early morning of Monday, January 6th. He was born in the city of New York, October 27, 1858, and was therefore a little more than sixty years of age. No other American of his time had been known so widely, and in so many relationships, as a public character. He had maintained superb vigor of body and mind, with reasonable expectation of a long further career of activity and usefulness; but a tropical fever in Brazil when on an exploring trip several years ago had left traces from which he never wholly recovered. He was active, however, to his last day, and died suddenly of an embolism. The funeral was quiet, as he preferred to have it, in the community where he lived. On Sunday, February 9, however, there will be memorial services throughout the entire country. Several articles about his life and character appear in this number of the REVIEW, and there are many in past volumes, through a period of more than a quarter of a century)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Public and
Private
Interests*

Citizens of every civilized community have both public interests and private interests.

Usually their private interests seem most pressing. But at times they are aware that the things of general concern not only involve their duty and claim their attention, but also dominate their personal affairs. In the pioneering stages of American life, private interests of course were predominant. In such periods it was easy to defend the dictum that "the best government is the one that governs least"; while it is not hard to understand why men so generally believed that minding one's own business and getting on with one's own affairs was the best way to develop the country. But there come times when the individual discovers that the structure of society bears a vital relation to his natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in his own private sphere. In such times as the present, almost everyone is anxiously waiting for adjustments in the sphere of Government, because the everyday affairs of life have become disarranged, and it is increasingly difficult to make plans or do business until the public conditions that form the background for private effort are made stable and normal.

*Freedom Still
a Cherished
Object*

In a war period, private interests become subordinate to the common, public necessity. The individual learns to realize how completely his independence is a matter of social ordering, rather than of his own private volition. The people of the United States have now fully demonstrated their ability to act together through public agencies in support of a great common cause that demands the sacrifice of life as well as of property. But Americans as a whole are still fond of individual liberty and self-direction; and they are anxious to

recover, at the earliest proper moment, a considerable measure of freedom for private initiative in business, as in all the other spheres of life. The social welfare is to claim first consideration in the new period; but personal liberty also will have ample range. Thoughtful persons know quite well that pioneer periods lie well in the past, and that the economic organization of society must henceforth be far more complete and extensive than ever before in this country. We repeat, there will still be a large range of freedom for the individual; but the only way now to secure that freedom is through public action, which must provide the conditions and give security to every man.

*The Home,
and World-
Affairs*

Recent events have shown that private volition cannot secure the home against the appalling disasters of war. Therefore the private citizen, whether rich or poor, realizes that his personal security and freedom, and that of his children, are dependent upon public action that shall guard against military aggression, and that shall in due time lessen the burdens imposed upon us by the necessity of being prepared to defend ourselves and to support just causes by strength of arms. If the women of the land who are mothers hate the principles of aggressive militarism that have forced their sons into the European conflict, it is not less true that the soldiers themselves hate and loathe the business of war, and are intent upon a public system that will protect civilization against a recurrence of these unspeakable calamities. We are to go through many difficult experiences here in the United States in the processes of restoring our business life and of solving the problems created by the war. The same thing is true in Canada, Great Britain, France, and almost every other country of

the earth. But everyone knows that these national conditions, while requiring immediate thought and attention, are certain to be held in suspense and abeyance until the international skies are clearer.

The Spirit of a Century Ago Never before has there been any situation that even faintly resembled that of to-day. The peace adjustments after the Napoleonic Wars were being carried on by monarchs and statesmen who were thinking in terms of dynasties and of empires. The common people in no European country were practised in reading and writing; they had no popular newspapers that kept them well informed; they were not bringing any kind of pressure to bear upon the business of the Congress of Vienna. It is true that commissioners of the United States on Christmas Eve, 1814, a hundred and four years ago, had signed our treaty of peace with England and had made plans which have resulted in the secure and neighborly relations of Canada and the United States, while maintaining peace and friendship between the British and American Governments. But, otherwise, the international arrangements of a hundred years ago were not in the spirit of the present day.

A Peoples' Conference at Paris In contrast, we find at this time a body of delegates in Paris representing the popular will of great, intelligent peoples. There is no leading man in the Peace Conference who would for a moment admit that he is there to represent any other cause than that of the well-being of the entire people of his own country, while also recognizing the equal claim of the people of all other countries to live in freedom under just laws and to be guarded against aggression from without. While this group of representative men is assembled at Paris (or in the famous halls of Versailles), the home peoples of every country are intently following the news. Our own people every day read long messages brought by ocean cable and wireless service, and are taking part earnestly and actively in a tremendous discussion of the issues that are to be determined. Almost every man who can read and think, whether in public office or wearing the overalls of a mechanic, feels that his own future as well as that of his children and his neighbors is immediately at stake in the decisions that are to be made on the international plane of action.

International Trouble, a Common Menace

International disturbances have brought tragedy to the thresholds of thousands of these American families, while bringing risk and sacrifice and deep anxiety to almost every hearthstone in the land. For a quarter of a century in this magazine we have been arguing for the adoption of international arrangements that would greatly diminish the danger of war, if not completely abolish it. We have supported permanent arbitration treaties with Great Britain and other countries. We have pointed out the worth of various projects, whether brought forward by Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Hay, Root, Knox, Bryan, Wilson or any other statesman of international grasp. But there were two difficulties always encountered. One was the feeling of American security—the idea that we were somehow safe in our aloofness from the war-storms of Europe and that we could live fearlessly without being armed, while thinking it unfitting for us to protest against the world-menace of the colossal armaments of continental Europe. The other difficulty lay in the feeling that international arrangements to prevent war were but utopian dreams, fine visions of philosophers and humanitarians that could not be realized in the actual world. Both these obstacles have been swept away by the irresistible floods of war that have inundated our own homes. The world is too small for further aloofness.

The New Perception of Truth

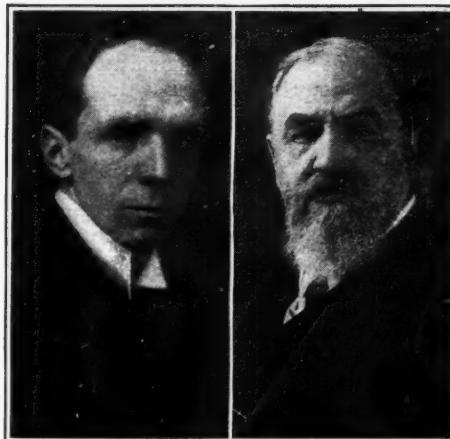
No nation, then, can henceforth be isolated and secure; every nation must be concerned with militarism as a menace to peace. In the modern world, war on the great scale cannot with certainty be confined to Europe or Asia without involving America; the world's peace becomes a universal issue. This is felt in every American home where the service flag is hung in the window, and in millions of other homes where there was no son to send to war. World peace has thus become as vital a matter to every American home as protection against fire or riot or epidemic disease. And so there has awakened in the general consciousness the clear perception of this truth: the world must be organized to prevent war and to settle differences, just as communities must be organized for protection against local dangers. To the average mind the problem is a practical one, and there is not much disposition to argue over the working details.

*The Peoples
Demand
Harmony*

Thus the proposed League of Nations does not find its strength merely in the wisdom of individual statesmen who are trying to give it working forms and mechanisms. The arrangements which are to give security and protect free nations are to be made because they are demanded by hundreds of millions of people in afflicted countries who desire peace, who seek relief from the burdens of militarism, and who are glad to lay aside the prejudices of race and nationality in favor of the spirit of generous good-will towards all peoples. During recent weeks, there has been widespread effort throughout the United States to secure expression of public opinion; so that those who are working for large and permanent results in the Peace Conference may feel themselves supported by American sentiment. In England and France, as in various other European countries, the realization that there must be union of effort for peacekeeping, just as there has been union of effort for winning the war, is even more general than in America. These peoples of Europe are closer to the facts of war and have suffered more intensely. They long for security and they know that it can be found only in continued coöperation.

*The Concrete
Facts of
Union*

Although there are several ways to approach the problems of a League of Nations, it is not well to be too ready to regard those ways as essentially destructive of one another. It is easier for some men to see things in the concrete, as things stand today. They feel that the League of Nations has been already formed, in the military and financial coöperation of the Allies, and in the general unity of aims developed under the moral leadership of the United States after we had begun to take a large part in the war. In previous numbers of this REVIEW, beginning with America's entrance into the conflict, we have repeatedly expressed the view that the League of Nations to enforce peace is already an obvious fact, and that it would be more natural to continue it and to give it functions for the future, than to disband it. We have felt that conditions had been created, through the extent of this coöperation in a variety of ways, which would make it practically impossible not to continue in numerous fields of joint action. We have then, in the fact of the present demand of millions of people for security against war and in the further fact of existing coöperation, the best



LORD ROBERT CECIL LEON BOURGEOIS
TWO CONSPICUOUS LEADERS WHO ARE TRYING TO FRAME THE PLAN OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(M. Bourgeois, a former Premier of France and an eminent worker for peace and international harmony, is head of the French society that has offered a plan for the League of Nations. Lord Robert Cecil, recently associated with Mr. Balfour in the British Foreign Office, has of late been charged by his Government with the study of this question of a league.)

possible foundations upon which to erect the structure of a permanent League. As Mr. Taft puts it, the League must stand because it cannot be dispensed with.

*Trying to
Put a Scheme
on Paper*

It happens, however, that there are some people who have studied the subject more especially from the standpoint of drafting a treaty. They have been trying to put down upon paper the kind of representative organization such a League should have. Many such drafts have now been made. Their makers have faced a hundred difficult problems. Some of these men are more theoretical than others. French minds are obliged to deal with concrete circumstances quite as much as with abstract general proposals. British minds have had to consider not merely the security of Great Britain regarding its supplies of food and raw material and its overseas markets, but they have also had to bear in mind the great range of interest and responsibility involved in all that is covered by the name "British Empire." In the midst of mental uncertainty and confusion resulting from the reading of so many dispatches seeming to point to disagreement at Paris, we have some gratifying evidence that the areas of controversy grow narrower, and the areas of confidence and good understanding grow wider. Here we find the League's basis.

*President
Wilson's
Speeches*

President Wilson's speeches in France, England and Italy did not indeed lay down precise proposals, but they helped greatly to give reassurance to public opinion, and to make the peoples of western Europe feel that there was a friendly good-will in America which could be relied upon as a body of sentiment harmonizing with the friendly good-will that the President was finding wherever he went. Getting rid of misunderstandings and distrust has been a large part of the preliminary work; and this seems to us to have been greatly assisted by the expressions for which President Wilson's presence in Europe gave opportunity, no less than by his own conciliatory and tactful utterances.

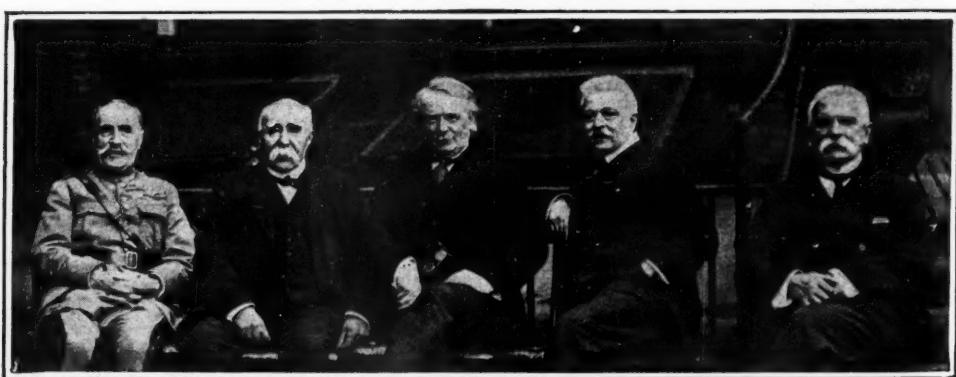
*British and
American
Cooperation*

It took a little while for a conservative public in England to understand that there would be no desire to interfere with the strength of the British Navy, but only a desire to have common understanding as to the uses for which naval power might be exerted. Since there could be no danger at all of disagreement upon this larger subject between the United States and Great Britain, the last chance of difference between the two great English-speaking democracies had disappeared. Great Britain and America are alike in wishing to see freedom and justice prevail; they are alike in seeking to safeguard the welfare of smaller countries; and they are alike in their view that the backward regions of the world are to be aided in the spirit of tutelage and guardianship rather than to be exploited for the mere sake of economic gain or imperial

power. The spirit of generosity and mutual goodwill can clear away many seeming difficulties. There was a time when Lord Bryce as British Ambassador, and Secretary Root as head of our State Department, undertook to dispose of various questions, mostly having to do with our Canadian relations, that had survived from earlier days. Their work involved much study and skilful adjustment; but it was successful and in no manner embarrassing, because it was performed in a spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill.

*The Italian
and Balkan
Questions.*

We are optimistic enough to believe that the warmth and generosity of the Italian nature will respond to some plan for making good neighbors and permanent friends of the South Slavs who wish to have outlets upon the Dalmatian coast. Some formula for coöperation, to dispel danger of rivalry, is what that situation requires. The same thing is true of some of the disputes that are now involving Poland, Bohemia, Ukrainia, Rumania and all of the Balkan countries as regards precise boundaries and other matters affecting their future status. A complete general understanding on the part of the larger Allies gives a basis of powerful influence by virtue of which the conflicting claims of minor states can be adjudicated. Furthermore, it becomes the obvious duty of the group of major Allies so to determine the bounds of militarism within the European countries that it will be virtually out of the question for countries like Poland, Ukrainia, Czechoslovakia or the greater Serbia to assert their claims against one another by war, rather than to resort to



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MARSHAL FOCH AND ALLIED PREMIERS WHO WILL DECIDE THE DESTINIES OF NATIONS

(This photograph was taken December 7 in the courtyard of No 10 Downing Street, London, the home of Premier Lloyd George, where Marshal Foch and some of the Allied leaders met to discuss the Allied terms to be proposed at the Peace Conference. From left to right, are, Marshal Foch, Premier Clemenceau of France, Premier Lloyd George of England, Premier Orlando of Italy, and Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Secretary.)

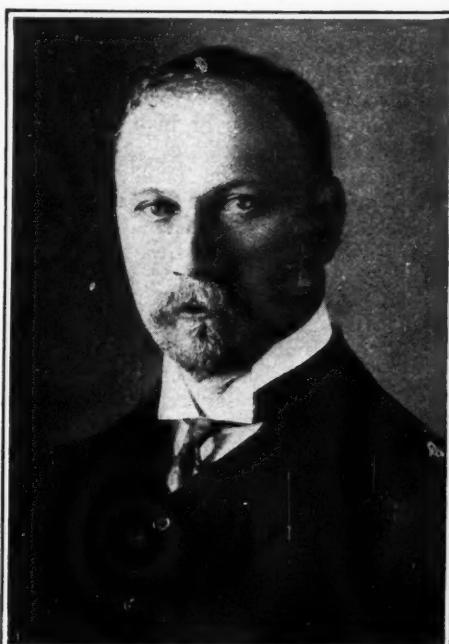
arbitration or to the machinery for settling disputes that the League of Nations will create. The difficulties to be faced are so numerous that they would be altogether baffling but for the determination of democratic peoples everywhere to have orderly settlement of disputes, together with the power for good that the Allied nations possess in the fact of their own fundamental agreement.

*The Smuts
British
Proposal*

As typical of what lies in the minds of men abroad who speak of a League of Nations, we may mention the proposal of General Smuts, the South African soldier and statesman who is a member of the British War Cabinet and whose ideas seem to be in keeping with those of Mr. Lloyd George and some other British leaders. The Smuts plan had been privately studied among statesmen abroad, though merely tentative and subject to changes that might be radical in their extent. First, we are told, forming the League of Nations is to be the primary, basic task for the Peace Conference in order to supply the necessary organ through which "the vast multiplicity of territorial, economic and other problems can find their only solution." This Smuts plan treats the Peace Conference itself as the first or preliminary meeting of the League, which must proceed to work out its further organization in detail and to determine its own functions.

*Settling
Territorial
Questions*

Second, the Smuts plan proposes that instead of any policy of separate national action as regards the territories formerly belonging to Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, the League should step in and be clothed with the right of ultimate disposal along the line of certain agreed principles. Third, these principles are to the effect that none of the victorious states are to make annexations within such territories, and that ultimate self-rule and consent of the governed among the peoples shall be aimed at as an object. Fourth, that any kind of authority or control from without that may be necessary as respects these peoples shall be the exclusive function of the League of Nations; but, fifth, it may be permissible for the League of Nations to delegate authority or administration to some one state, acting as its agent or mandatory, although in such cases if possible the agent ought to be acceptable to the people to be controlled or governed. Sixth, the degree of authority to be exercised must in



GEN. JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, SOUTH AFRICAN LEADER AND MEMBER OF THE BRITISH CABINET

(General Smuts, through sheer force of military knowledge and political wisdom, has become one of the acknowledged leaders of the British Empire and one of the broad-minded statesmen whose views are particularly respected by Americans abroad.)

every case be laid down by the League of Nations in a special act reserving to the League the complete power of ultimate control and supervision. Seventh, the mandatory state must maintain equal economical opportunities and use military force in the way prescribed by the League for purposes of international police. Eighth, that no state formed out of the old empires shall be admitted to the League except as it conforms to the rules laid down for its conduct as respects military force and armaments. Ninth, that the League, as taking over certain functions of former empires, must watch over the relations of new independent states among themselves in order to conciliate differences and secure order and peace.

*Forms
of the
League*

Tenth, the League itself will be, in form, a Permanent Conference among the Governments of the constituent States for joint international action in certain respects, and will not lessen the independence of its members. It will consist of a general conference, a council, and courts of arbitration and conciliation. Eleventh, the Council will make general

rules and arrangements, and, twelfth, it will act as the executive committee of the League and be made up of Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and so on. It will, thirteenth, hold annual meetings of high officials, appoint a permanent body of secretaries and staff-members, will have standing joint committees, and will thus keep the nations in constant communication with each other. And fourteenth, it will work in the sphere of the matters set forth in the first nine points.

As to Future Militarism and War

General Smuts in his fifteenth point deals with agreements for the abolition of conscription or compulsory military service, and in the sixteenth with control of military equipment and armament, while in the seventeenth he requires the nationalization of all factories producing war material. In his eighteenth point he prescribes a joint and several agreement among the members of the League not to go to war with one another without preliminary submission to such proceedings as arbitration or inquiry by the League's council, and not before there has been an award or a report, and not even then as against a nation which complies with an award or recommendation. It is provided in the nineteenth that violation of the agreement as to point eighteen shall in itself create a state of war as against the recalcitrant member by

other members of the League. This would be followed by economic and financial boycott, and by a course of proceeding which would probably preclude the need of using naval or military force. The covenant-breaking state after the restoration of peace would be subject to perpetual disarmament, etc. Points twenty and twenty-one refer to further conditions for resorting to arbitration among the members. Our allusions here are from a condensed report cabled over by a correspondent. It is said that the proposals as a whole are regarded by the Americans in Paris as exceedingly statesmanlike in their provisions for difficulties that might arise.

The Soldiers and Their Future

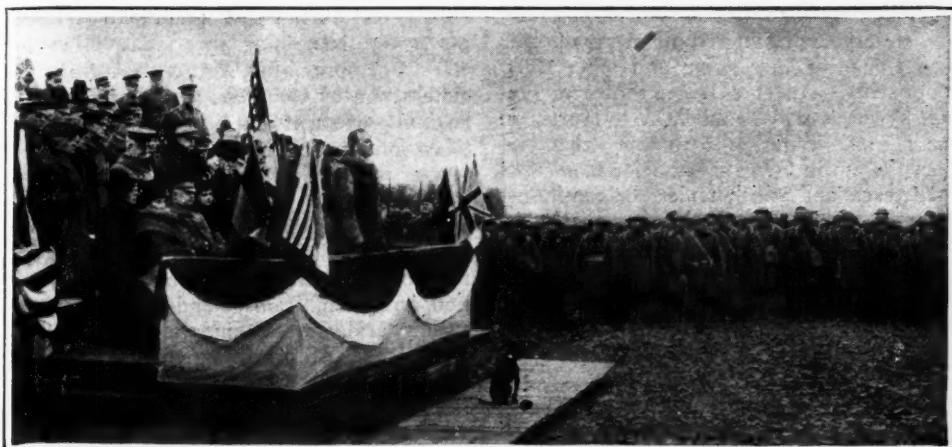
Among those awaited adjustments of public business to which we have been referring, upon which almost everybody's private life and effort must depend, there is nothing that stands out so conspicuously as the problem of reducing the strength of armies and bringing back the soldiers to civilian life. In every country that has been engaged in war, this subject is a most pressing one. National treasuries ask for demobilization in order to lessen the heavy burden that calls for fresh loans and drastic taxes. The soldiers themselves are eager to see their homes and families, and to find their places in the world of industry and business. They are increasingly anxious about their future; and they long to bring their aroused faculties—their tried courage and their new vigor—to the tests of civil life.

Back From Foreign Shores

At first, when the armistice was signed, the problem of sending the men home seemed to most people much more simple than that of training them and sending them forth to war. It will within a few days be three months since the armistice brought actual warfare to an end. In a like period of three months just preceding the armistice we sent abroad approximately 800,000 soldiers. Everything, however, both here and throughout the lands and waters under the sway of the Allies, was subordinated to the great object of building up an irresistible reserve of troops in France for the victory that we knew would come in 1919 if not gained sooner. It had taken some time to assemble the shipping, and to perfect the arrangements for dispatching our troops so rapidly. It had not been possible to anticipate the precise moment when hostilities would cease, and it has again taken



GAINING
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



© International Film Service

PRESIDENT WILSON REVIEWING AMERICAN TROOPS AT THE FRONT ON CHRISTMAS DAY

(One of President Wilson's most typical addresses abroad was delivered to the troops at Humes, where he expressed the sense of American pride and affection in the achievements of the army.)

time to arrange on the great scale for the soldiers' return to our shores. Secretary Baker, in a clear and timely statement, sets forth the elements of the problem in an article for our readers that appears in this issue.

*Reasons
For Some
Delay* Naturally, we are all impatient to have sons and relatives and friends come home; but we must remember that the return movement which began promptly in November, and attained increasing proportions in December and January, has begun about a year sooner than we believed that it would last summer. We have reason in this to find cheer, and to examine the problem on its merits without exasperation. As Secretary Baker shows, both the Department and the General Staff at Washington are alive to the bearings of all the facts; and doubtless the army command in France is dealing with the subject as best it can. Reading the news from the occupied German borders along the Rhine, we have begun to perceive the continuing necessity of large Allied forces, at once to support the terms of the armistice, and to help in protecting European order and civilization during a chaotic period that was almost inevitable as a consequence of the breakup of Russian, German and Austrian imperial and autocratic governments. It is true that we shall not need in Europe nearly all of our present forces, and it might be roughly assumed that three-fourths of all those who have gone abroad could soon be returned. This brings us to the problem of ships.

*Finding the
Troop
Ships*

Secretary Baker is reassuring in his statements on this point, and expresses the hope that ultimately we may have shipping capacity for from 200,000 to 250,000 per month. He alludes to the assistance already given by the navy in using a fleet of battleships and cruisers for army transport purposes. That Secretary Daniels and the naval authorities are eager to coöperate to the fullest extent that is feasible admits of no doubt. The construction of the great dreadnaughts is such that they are not well fitted for carrying numbers of soldiers. "Otherwise," as Secretary Daniels remarks in a letter to the editor, "they would all be turned into transports tomorrow morning." As matters stand, the navy is already using ships having a capacity for carrying 20,000 soldiers, and it will doubtless be able to increase this considerably. Meanwhile, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board has been abroad for some time making contracts for as large a quantity of shipping as possible on the plan of bringing American soldiers home rapidly, and sending to the European peoples return cargoes of food and supplies.

*Hurley and
the German
Ships*

It is well known that our ports of embarkation in France, particularly Brest, St. Nazaire and Bordeaux, have been much congested with soldiers waiting for ships. Mr. Hurley was successful last month in obtaining the use for transports of many French, Italian, Dutch and Swedish ships. The British were al-

ready helping us to the extent of their ability in view of the pressing requirements of their own Canadian, Australian and other troop contingents. An even larger source of supply, however, was found by Mr. Hurley in the German commercial shipping that had been tied up in German ports for more than four years, and which under the continuing blockade had not been able after the armistice to go to sea. The Allies were ready to modify blockade rules, and to allow a large number of German vessels (of a capacity estimated at more than 2,000,000 tons) to be manned by American officers and seamen and to enter our transport service. It is understood that on the return voyages the ships will carry food, some of which would go to the Central Powers. Mr. Hurley was to accompany General Foch after the middle of January to Treves, where armistice business required a further conference with German representatives.

*Provision
for Soldier
Employment*

As Secretary Baker remarks, we shall have discharged from the American Army about 1,000,000 men by the time these pages are printed. Most of these were in the training camps here at home. Their discharge has begun already to affect the labor situation appreciably, while of course the ending of many war industries has to an even greater extent obliged us to consider the economic readjustments which will be pressing upon us for national and local action during this year and next. It is time that Congress should be adopting some comprehensive policies. Mobilization was a national affair both military and industrial; and through the period following war the situation cannot well be left to the ordinary working of the law of supply and demand in the labor market. There should be a decent job at good wages on some kind of public work for every discharged soldier who asks for it, in order to take up the "slack," and to give time for private employers to find the men and for the men to find their more permanent jobs. These public works could well be under the auspices of the national government as respects assurance of employment; but otherwise there should be municipal and other local undertakings included as a part of the general scheme. Not only should there be public works to prevent unemployment, but the undertakings should be of a kind to yield permanent benefits, while offering inducements to the returning soldiers.

*A System
of Land
Settlement*

Among such undertakings there is nothing that seems to us so promising, or so fit for immediate action by Congress, as the projects for land improvement and settlement that have taken form under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane, and that are embodied in two pending bills. One of these calls for the immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the Secretary "for the investigation, irrigation, drainage and development of swamp, arid, waste or undeveloped lands, for the purpose of providing employment and farms with improvements and equipment for honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines of the United States." The accompanying land bill is much more extensive, providing for coöperation between the United States Government and the individual states, creating a Soldier Settlement Board, and dealing in a detailed way with various phases of a situation that has been studied with such care and thoroughness that those who are urging the plan cannot be accused of being merely enthusiasts or theorists. Contrary to the opinion of some people, the Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives are very intelligent and able men. But they have a tremendous amount of public work to do, and, except under the spur of war necessity, it is hard for them to take up a wholly new subject and act upon it quickly. Congress is more likely to see the



A PICTURE WITHOUT WORDS
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City, N. J.)

merits of the proposals of Secretary Lane's Department than are the legislatures of the particular states; yet there is no other one thing that could be proposed that would do so much to revive agriculture and state prosperity along progressive lines, especially in the Eastern and Southern States, as the adoption of the plans which Mr. Lane is now urging. The present moment is one of great opportunity for the utilizing of land resources and the settlement of young Americans upon our unimproved acres. Next month we shall deal in a more extended and statistical way with the basic facts. In this appeal, we are asking Congress and the country to give open-minded attention to the opportunity, and we urge prompt action.

*The Men
Are Eager
for Land*

A surprisingly large number of returning soldiers are ready to enlist in this land-improvement corps, as is shown wherever the subject is presented to them in the camps. And this is particularly true of the men returning from France. The plan in general calls for the acquisition of suitable areas of land to be properly surveyed and laid out, and to be developed and settled upon lines adapted to soil, climate and markets. The scheme would give work immediately to the soldier accepting it, and would save him from the almost hopeless tasks and certain errors of going to the land alone. His farm, when ready for him, would be fully equipped, his neighbors would be similarly prepared, and his payments for land and improvements would extend over a long period of years. Nothing is proposed in the plan that has not been thoroughly tested either in this country or elsewhere; and there are men in the Reclamation Service, in the Land Office and otherwise connected with the Department of the Interior (together with men in the Agricultural Department and in the State agricultural services) who are competent in the fullest sense to direct the work and make it successful. It is impossible to think of any other plan that would so inevitably conserve the money invested by Congress and the states, while giving the country the constant benefit to be derived from utilizing its neglected resources of arable soil.

*"Reclamation"
"Approved
Success"* As for the returning soldiers, they have become so accustomed to a hardy, out-of-door kind of existence, that large numbers of them do not welcome the thought of going back into



HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

(Mr. Lane has been especially active in recent weeks, appearing before audiences advocating his plan of land settlement for soldiers and presenting the cause of Americanization in its urgent aspects)

offices and factories. They long, rather, for a life in the open air and sunlight. They have neither the capital nor the experience to become successful farmers on their own initiative; but, under an organized system such as Secretary Lane and his associates have thought out, there are many thousands of these men who could be given immediate employment and who could have reasonable assurance of success and prosperity on lands that only need proper treatment and improvement to become a permanent source of agricultural wealth. The western Reclamation projects have been highly successful as a whole; but experience has shown that there must be expert direction given to the problems of settling and farming reclaimed lands, as well as to those of constructing the dams and irrigation systems, and carrying out the projects from the engineering and financial standpoint.

*Relief More
Urgent
Than Ever*

Only the thoughtless could have supposed that when the war was over the exceptional calls upon America's resources would be at an end. From an early date in the war we were sending food supplies to Belgium through the Hoover Commission, were trying to as-

sist the sufferers of Serbia, and were sending relief on a large scale to the oppressed and ravished peoples of the Turkish Empire. The ending of war, at the beginning of a winter season, could not of itself bring the solace of food and raiment to destitute communities. The one industry that is most certain to be resumed with desperate energy is that of producing food from the soil. This, however, will require the supply of seeds and utensils; and the workers must be fed until the crops begin to mature next summer. Relief work is more needed now and for the near future than at any earlier time since 1914.

**\$100,000,000
for Food
to Europe**

Mr. Hoover has been placed at the head of a great international commission to supervise the distribution of food to the regions most lacking—beginning of course with those peoples who have the best claim upon the attention of the Allies, but not refusing to face the needs of suffering childhood and starving humanity in any zone of distress. At the cabled request of President Wilson, a bill was passed through the House of Representatives last month appropriating \$100,000,000 as our part of a credit fund to be expended at once for the purchase and shipment of food supplies under the direction of the Allied international commission. It was understood that like appropriations were to be made by the British, French and Italian Governments. There was some opposition in

Congress because of the vagueness of the project as presented; but probably no one in either House failed to realize that in some way this country would have to take a large part within the coming year in the relief of the appalling distress of Europe. Surplus food is available in larger quantities now than a year ago, and it is a matter of lending the money to purchase supplies. Meanwhile, the shipping question seems to be associated with the task of bringing back our soldiers, it being planned to send food as a return cargo. In these matters Congress will have to act somewhat blindly, as indeed it always has done when it votes relief money in times of emergency.

Help for the Starving and Sick in Turkey

The work of relieving distress in the Turkish Empire goes forward upon an increasing scale under the direction of the "American Committee for Relief in the Near East," this being the new name for the "American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," which has been at work through several past years. This committee, with the earnest approval of the Government and the hearty support of the Red Cross, is now entering upon a campaign to secure a fresh fund of \$30,000,000 for its work. It has the Armenians, Syrians and Greeks of Asia Minor and the adjacent region as its principal beneficiaries, but it helps Persians, and others in these regions who are within its reach. Through the war period its work has gone steadily on. Last month it actually secured and swiftly forwarded wheat, medical supplies and other needful things valued in millions, the Navy aiding with vessels. On January 4th a special commission sailed from New York for Constantinople and Beirut to enter upon a survey of conditions in Armenia, Syria and other parts of Asia Minor. This group was headed by Dr. James L. Barton of Boston, and included President Main of Grinnell College, Ia., Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James of New York, Prof. Moore of Harvard, Mr. W. W. Peet of Constantinople, Dr. G. H. Washburn of Boston, and Mr. Harold Hatch of New York. These are men of exceptional knowledge, thoroughly competent to direct and extend relief activities in Turkey.



WHAT EUROPE EXPECTS
From the *Star* (St. Louis)

**For the Future
as Well
as the Present**

Every state in the Union is organized to support this urgent work of relief, and the lives of many thousands will be saved as a result of

the campaign now pending for \$30,000,000. Furthermore, America's helping hand at this time is likely to do more than anything else to impress upon the Peace Conference at Paris the fact that the future political control of Turkey must be worked out in an unselfish spirit. The Turkish system of government is a complete failure and must be abolished. The peoples of all creeds and races must have freedom, and modern opportunities for education, and economic prosperity. The benefits that the British Army has temporarily brought to Mesopotamia and to Palestine must not be withdrawn from the inhabitants. Medical and agricultural progress must be provided for. In short, the problems of Turkey would seem to present themselves imperatively to a League of Nations. The thing to demand is a continuance of the kind of work that the British Army and the American educational and relief agencies have performed, not forgetting certain excellent reforms in Syria due to arrangements following the French intervention more than half a century ago. There will be no better opportunity to give money that will be wisely spent for human welfare, this month, than that which is set forth in the call that goes out from the "Committee on Relief in the Near East."

Armistice Requirements The Germans had not complied with all their armistice agreements, particularly those having to do with the delivery of railroad cars and other supplies. The Allies were justified in making certain fresh requirements arising from existing circumstances. Among the new demands was one relating to a large number of unfinished German submarines. Already the Germans had learned that Allied occupation was in no sense oppressive but, on the contrary, was for the time being beneficial to the districts held by American, English and French troops. It is probable that a very large part of the population of



THREE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE RELIEF MISSION TO THE NEAR EAST

(Dr. Washburn [on the left] is a distinguished Boston surgeon, son of the former president of Robert College, Constantinople, and grandson of the first president. Dr. Barton [in the center] was formerly engaged in missionary work in Turkey and is now at the head of the American Board of Missions. Mr. Peet [on the right] has lived for many years in Constantinople as financial representative of educational and missionary enterprises, and is, like Dr. Barton, a widely recognized authority upon conditions throughout Turkey)

Berlin would have been glad to have the Allies in occupation of the capital during December and the first part of January, for preservation of civil order.

Affairs
in
Germany

After a long period during which news from Germany was of uncertain value and accuracy, we are now obtaining a considerable amount of information that can be relied upon. Political, military and economic conditions in Germany are, however, too disturbed and irregular to admit of any clear and general statement. The government of the majority socialists with Ebert at its head has been through a severe struggle at Berlin with the red revolutionists under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht. There was a brief moment when the extremists seemed to be on the point of gaining control by a violent *coup d'etat*; but the military elements favored the more orderly and moderate leadership of Ebert. After bloody street fighting it was announced on January 15th that order had been restored. This made it reasonably certain that the popular elections for a Constitutional Convention to decide upon Ger-

many's form of government would be held in the immediate future, and that in most parts of Germany the freedom and security of the polls would be respected. At Coblenz and in the districts occupied by the American Army, our military authorities issued a proclamation declaring that the elections must be "a free expression of the people's will," and must be orderly and unhampered. The Allied authorities are anxious to have Germany establish a firm and liberal government, with which business can be carried on and which may be capable of making and keeping agreements.

A Primary Requirement from Germany It is not going to be easy for any of the recent belligerents to recover from the losses and burdens of the war, and Germany must not be allowed to emerge more easily than those lands that have been the victims of Germany's aggression and of her defiance of all the rules and restraints of civilized warfare. We are publishing an article of unusual interest and importance written for us by M. Henri-Martin Barzun on the ravages to which France has been subjected and upon various aspects of the business of reconstruction. This ravaged territory was highly industrialized, and the Germans seem to have

been intent upon damaging it as much as possible. Among other things, they took away the machinery from the factories; as also they did in Belgium. It is obvious that one of the first requirements must be the return by Germany of a full equivalent in the way of machinery, live stock and the working materials of industry. From some source these lacks must be supplied. Surely there can be no question about demanding the return of stolen goods. The thing most necessary for France and Belgium is not money, but labor and machinery. The sooner Germany is set at the task of restoration, the better it will be for everyone concerned.

The "Irreducible Minimum" Instead of rendering army service in future, young Germans should be obliged to labor either in machine shops at home or on devastated areas, in order to give back the utensils of industry and to restore habitations, factories, roads and farms. Germany has not been ravaged; her cities are intact, her fields are productive, her great establishments for metal-working, chemicals, textiles, etc., are in being, except as transformed for war uses. It would be a travesty to permit Germany to resume her own full industrial career without having undertaken to make good completely the havoc she has wrought in the industrial life of France and Belgium. This is the "irreducible minimum" of requirements. There should be further penalties visited upon Germany of such kind and nature as forever to deter any ambitious nation or race from entering upon a project of military conquest. The more firmly the Germans suppress anarchy, face the facts that inevitably follow their defeat, and fall in with the findings of the Peace Conference, the more rapidly and completely it will be possible for the armies of the Allies to return to their homes and for the general policy of disarmament to go into effect.



PLANNING A HOUSE TO SUIT THE WHOLE FAMILY
IS NO EASY TASK
From the *News* (Dayton)

Planning a Federal Republic In the middle of January it was reported that the Ebert government had prepared the draft of a constitution to be submitted to the National Convention which was expected to assemble about February 10. Americans will be interested in the nature of this draft, although the Convention may work out something wholly different. The Ebert draft proposes a Federal Republic, and gets rid of that overwhelming predominance of Prussia which has been the terrible misfortune of the

recent German Empire. Prussia had been built up through a long period by the absorption of many separate states which, in the local sense, have always retained their identity. Subdivision, therefore, into a group of commonwealths somewhat on the plan of our States involves no arbitrary scheme of map-making. With Prussia divided into eight states, the other parts of the proposed German Federal Republic will, according to the Ebert draft, consist of seven more states. The list of fifteen as cabled in January and as a merely tentative proposal (the first eight being subdivisions of Prussia) is as follows:

First—Silesia, with German Posen and German East Bohemia.

Second—The German parts of East and West Prussia.

Third—Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

Fourth—Greater Berlin and its suburbs.

Fifth—Lower Saxony, Hanover, and Schleswig-Holstein.

Sixth—Westphalia and the Lippe principalities.

Seventh—The Rhineland.

Eighth—The Prussian Province of Hesse and the Grand Duchy of Hesse.

Ninth—Thuringia, including certain parts of old Prussia.

Tenth—The former Kingdom of Saxony, including parts of Prussian Saxony.

Eleventh—Baden.

Twelfth—Württemberg.

Thirteenth—Bavaria, with the German parts of northwest Bohemia.

Fourteenth—German Austria.

Fifteenth—Vienna and its suburbs.

Doubtless the convention, if it adopts the general plan, will revise these territorial lines. The Ebert draft proposes a President of Germany to be elected for a ten-year term by a direct vote of the whole people.

Dangers Involving Germany On January 15 the existing government sent out an appeal to the German nation signed by Premier Ebert, Philip Scheidemann, and other members of the cabinet, declaring its

purpose to prevent repetition of the Bolshevik uprisings, and referring to the approaching election as under the "freest suffrage in the world to determine the constitution of the German State." The address made the following significant reference to the Russian menace:

No less is it our task to protect our frontier against fresh Russian military despotism, which wants to force upon us by means of warlike power its anarchistic conditions, and unchain a new world war of which our country would be the theater. Bolshevism means the death of peace, of freedom, and socialism.

It is now apparent that the existing German authorities are much more worried about the danger of Russian Bolshevism, which has threatened Germany both from without and within, than about the attitude towards Germany and her future of the victorious Allies in session at Paris. They know that the Allies will be governed in their discussions by sanity, intelligence, and a consideration for future European harmony. They do not expect indulgence or easy terms at Paris, but they know that the

burdens to be placed upon them will be those that an orderly and industrious Germany can survive. Russian Bolshevism, however, is of itself a pestilence, with its fanaticism, its tyranny and its violence; besides which it paves the way for every other kind of pestilence that follows in the wake of civil war—typhus, hunger diseases, social demoralization.

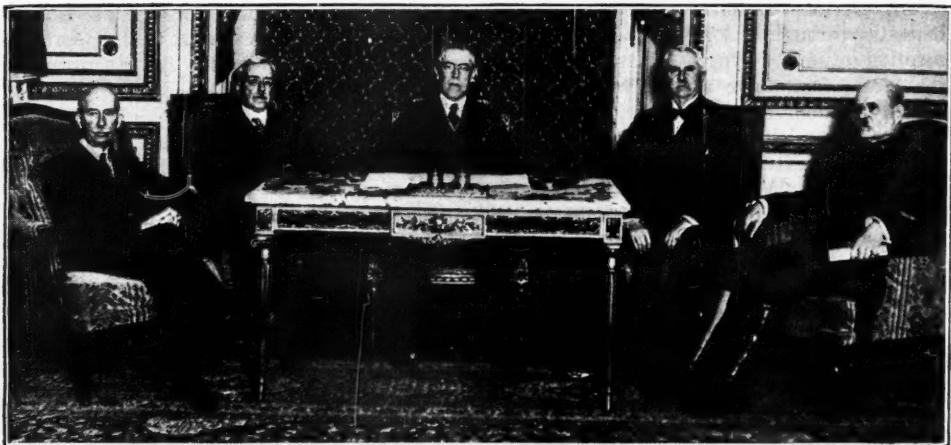
Poland in Ferment

Germany also is alarmed about the aggressive attitude of Poland. Emanuel Wurm, the German Food Commissioner, informed the Associated Press correspondent on January 15 that "the situation in Posen was threatening to become acute, and that its immediate effect upon the shipment of wheat and pota-



IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI

(Who recently went back to Poland, where he has taken a prominent part in the creation of the Polish republic)



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COLONEL HOUSE SECRETARY LANSING PRESIDENT WILSON HON. HENRY WHITE GENERAL BLISS
THE AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

toes to Berlin was already being felt." "The Polish authorities," said the Commissioner, "have been demanding coal in exchange for foodstuffs. Germany is supplying the fuel, but the Poles have failed to reciprocate. They not only have failed to ship wheat and potatoes, but have retained the rolling stock which carried our coal to them." This official believed "that the present critical food situation in Germany's eastern provinces and its effect on the Berlin supply would be quickly dissipated when Poland's political aspirations were once adjusted and the Polish government was stabilized." The Peace Conference must, at the earliest possible moment, decide upon the boundaries of Poland and use its influence and authority to secure order and save the Poles from internal conflict and from war with their neighbors. There has been a temporary government in Poland under General Pilsudski, whose cabinet has been socialistic and apparently derived mainly from Russian Poland. The eminent Polish leader, Ignace Jan Paderewski, so well known to Americans as a great musical artist, is even better known among Poles as a national patriot and leader. He left the United States some weeks ago, and is now, it would seem, the foremost personal influence in Poland, where he has been trying to secure a proper recognition of Eastern and German Poland on a coalition plan in the temporary cabinet. Poland also has been menaced by Bolshevism, and Paderewski's work is against such disorders and is in promotion of democracy and Polish unity. German policy in the past has been so infamous

as against the Poles in Posen that it would be too much to expect that the Poles should not now assert themselves in those parts of East Prussia that had belonged historically to the Polish nationality.

The Peace Conference at Work Since so many practical problems, like these relating to Poland, await the action of the Peace Conference, there is now an urgent demand in all quarters that the delegates at Paris expedite business as fast as possible. It was not until January 15 that the plan of representation was announced. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, it was reported, would have five delegates each; and in addition to the British five there were to be two delegates apiece from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, and one from New Zealand. Probably through the influence of the United States, Brazil was assigned three. Two delegates each were accorded to Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czechoslovak Republic, Rumania, and Serbia. One delegate each was assigned to Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama, and one to Montenegro. It will be noted that these recognitions are for countries that were definitely associated with the Allies, together with the new mid-European countries recognized as pro-Ally in their attitude and purpose. It was to be expected that there would be some disappointments, but there is nothing vital in the number of delegates allowed to each country because decisions in the Conference are not

to be made by majority vote of the total group as in an ordinary assembly. The gathering is diplomatic in character, and agreements will be made by the assent of countries concerned, to be fixed in treaties.

Publicity and Censorship As the Conference began its formal sittings, President Poincaré of France addressed it and Premier Clemenceau then took the chair as head of the Government within whose country the Conference was sitting. The question of full publicity for the current proceedings of the Peace Conference provoked a storm of discussion when a decision in favor of virtual secrecy had been given out. It was said that the American and British delegations had favored open sessions and wide publicity, but that the French, Italian, and Japanese delegates were for secrecy and strict censorship. The great assemblage of American correspondents, well supported by the British newspapermen, together with many French, Italian, and other European journalists, protested with so much vigor that it was soon made known that—at least in respect to much of the work of the Conference—there would be a measure of publicity, although at certain stages of inquiry and discussion publicity might be withheld or deferred. Throughout the war the news censorship in France had been close and firm, and it has so continued. The American Government has desired that there should be no attempt in France to restrict the sending of news to the press of the United States; and the British Government has taken a like course with respect to the freedom of the newspapers of the British Empire.

National Prohibition Assured Some of our readers were inclined to be skeptical when last July we published an article from the pen of Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn of Washington which undertook to answer in the affirmative the question that he proposed in his title; viz., "Will the United States Be 'Dry' in 1920?" He predicted that when the legislatures met in January, 1919, they would rapidly ratify the prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and that the requisite number, thirty-six, would have been secured before March (it having been provided that the amendment should go into effect one year after ratification). Mr. Dunn analyzed the situation carefully, and his predictions have been fulfilled with re-

markable accuracy. During a few days in the middle of January the ratifications were numerous, and the necessary 36th state proved to be Nebraska, which adopted the amendment on January 16th. On the day before, the states of Iowa, Colorado, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Utah had acted favorably, making a total of twelve in the course of two days. The states that had ratified previously were Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota, Maryland, Montana, Arizona, Delaware, Texas, South Dakota, Georgia, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Idaho, Maine, West Virginia, Washington, California, Indiana, Arkansas, Illinois, North Carolina, Kansas and Alabama. It was fully expected that several more states would act favorably within a short time, although their votes were not needed to insure the addition to the Federal Constitution. It was even expected that the state of New York would endorse the amendment and thus give its voluntary sanction to a radical change to which, with its great cosmopolitan population, it had been regarded as strongly opposed.

A Great War-time Reform In any case, we were bound to try the experiment of nationwide prohibition, because as a war measure it had been already ordained that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks should cease after the thirtieth day of next June, the period of tolerance being now only five months. This war prohibition was to last until six months after demobilization, although there is difference of opinion as to what that may mean. The dispute will have to be decided by a proclamation to be issued by the President. However, now that the Constitutional amendment is ratified, we shall have permanent prohibition beginning, let us say, February 1, 1920; and it is not probable that there will be any interval of resumed liquor-traffic between the temporary war prohibition and the enforcement of the permanent policy. The significant sections of the amendment are as follows:

"Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The meaning of these words is not in any doubt, because the courts have for many years been interpreting prohibition clauses in the state constitutions. Nor is there any reason to believe that the law will not be rigidly enforced. The evasions heretofore practiced in some "dry" states will become far more difficult when the whole country is under a prohibition system.

The Positive Benefits to Accrue

Those who are inclined to complain on the score of infringement of personal liberty, would do well to forget that phase of the subject and to remember what prohibition is going to mean in hundreds of thousands of homes. To be sure that growing boys and young men are henceforth to be practically free from the dangers of the drink evil, is a great gain for society. The economic benefit that will accrue to homes and to communities as a whole will be almost beyond computation. We are not dealing with a question that is now open to argument but are referring to one that was settled last month, so that any further discussion becomes academic. Those who do not like the idea of prohibition must accept the inevitable; yet we are inclined to think that they will change their minds when they see the good that will surely follow the closing of saloons and bars. The capital and energy that have gone into the making of intoxicants will find ample opportunity in various other fields. The prohibition wave has been advancing in this country for a number of years, so that everybody connected with the business of distilling and brewing, and with the retail liquor trade, has had ample warning and long opportunity to prepare for a decision that is not destined to be reconsidered. In no small measure, getting rid of alcoholic beverages and the habits they engender, is like eliminating certain forms of prevalent disease. It is sanitary progress, physically and morally. This is the first—and perhaps most notable—of the social reconstruction measures that are to better the world in the post-war era.

Two Great Business Problems for Congress

No vaster or more puzzling business problems have ever faced Congress than those relating to the ultimate disposal and operation of America's transportation lines on land and on sea. Of the two, the railway puzzle is the more imminent and pressing. The roads are, under the present law, to be returned to their private owners not later than

twenty-one months after the end of the war, which presumably means after the signing of a formal peace some time in the spring or summer of 1919. There is a fairly general agreement on only one main point: that the early return of the roads to their owners without new and vigorous legislation, doing away with certain intolerable phases of their operation, would be disastrous. In his address to Congress before he sailed to Europe, President Wilson pointed out the necessity for prompt Congressional action, and in the first days of January the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce began a series of highly important hearings from which Congress obtained the views of Mr. McAdoo, the retiring Director-General of the Railroads, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Association of Railroad Executives, the shippers and representatives of the State commissions.

Mr. McAdoo's Five-Year Plan

The Director-General characteristically had a bold and clean-cut plan for action in the matter. Expressing himself as opposed to Government ownership, he advocated new legislation which should extend the federal control of the railways as now exercised for a period of five years, arguing that only through such a course could the country obtain any fair test of federal control during peace times. Five years, he thought, would be little enough for any proper study of conditions upon which to base future policies in the matter of our railways. Mr. McAdoo intimated that if the period of Government control should be limited to twenty-one months, he would urge that the lines be returned to private control immediately, or as soon as practicable. This course he defended on the ground that the Federal Railroad Administration would be so hampered during the short period of control that the Government "would be asked to continue in operation deprived of all the elements which would help in making the operation a success." Mr. McAdoo's five-year plan has not met with much favor. Members of Congress, financiers, the owners of the railways, even the Interstate Commerce Commission itself are, with few exceptions, opposed to it. There is a general feeling that a five-year extension of federal control would inevitably lead to Government ownership and that it would be begging the question—the greatest question of all in the matter of transportation lines—to provide for such a course now. The feeling was

widely expressed, too, that two years would be ample for Congress to prepare the new legislation necessary for a program promising reasonable success.

Proposals of the Railway Executives In the meantime the managers of the railways themselves have been preparing an elaborate plan for untangling the present transportation situation and starting out afresh. Chairman T. Dewitt Cuyler of the Association of Railway Executives presented the recommendations of that body to the Senate Committee on January 9. These call for private ownership, management, and operation of the railways; for federal regulation alone as against the former State and federal regulation; for relieving the Interstate Commerce Commission of its executive and administrative duties except as to federal valuation and accounting; for a Secretary of Transportation in the President's cabinet with many of the powers Director-General McAdoo has been exercising during the past months, and for power to be given to the carriers to initiate rates subject to the approval of the Secretary of Transportation and finally of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This program further calls for the division of the country by the Interstate Commerce Commission into regions, each to be under a commission appointed by the President, which would in its territory attend to the work entrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission and report to that body.

Opinions of the Commerce Commission The Interstate Commerce Commission, with the exception of Commissioner Woolley, made common cause with the railway men in opposing Mr. McAdoo's five-year control plan, and advocated legislation nullifying the President's power to surrender the railroads without notice. The most unsatisfactory part of the Commerce Commission's plan was that relating to rates. The word "reasonable" has been the stock adjective applied to rates to be put in force; but the absence of any working test of reasonableness for a particular rate has resulted in the past in voluminous hearings and discussions, and has sadly delayed action. Chairman Clark, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, agreeing on many points with the railway men, had no more definite working plan for promptly arriving at the "reasonable" rate than was furnished in his statement: "The rates should not be higher than the shipper



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MR. WALKER D. HINES

(Who has succeeded Mr. McAdoo as Director-General of the railways of the United States)

may reasonably be required to pay and should not be lower than the carrier may reasonably be required to accept."

The Views of Senator Cummins The danger of unlimited discussion over reasonableness, which kept the railroads waiting for four years for an answer to their 1910 application for a rate change, is thoroughly appreciated by Senator Cummins, who will be Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission when Congress reorganizes after March 4. It is understood that Senator Cummins will come out strongly for (1) Government ownership of the railways, (2) the leasing of the roads, under careful restrictions, to private operators, (3) issues of capital stock to cover equipment by the Government at a guarantee of return of something like 4½ per cent., and (4) operating capital to be supplied by the private operators with profits allowed to them in proportion to the efficiency of management. In interviews Senator Cummins has explained that he has in mind obtaining the advantages of Government ownership, par-

ticularly the use of capital at the low rate of interest that would be possible under Government guarantees, without losing the advantages of private ownership—the incentives to efficiency and initiative.

*Mr. Hines
as Director-
General*

On January 13 was made public the appointment of Mr. Walker D. Hines to the post of Director-General of the railways, allowing Mr. McAdoo, at last, to get away on a vacation which was earned, if any vacation ever was earned, by the magnitude and variety of responsibilities that one man's shoulders had borne. Mr. Hines steps easily into the headship of our twenty billion dollars' worth of transportation lines because he has been for more than a year the effective lieutenant of Mr. McAdoo, many of the policies and changes initiated during the Government régime having come from him. Mr. Hines is a practical railroad man of large calibre, and with the best quality of training. For twelve years he was counsel for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway and for ten years Chairman of its Board in the period during which that great system was being worked over into a signally efficient, successful and high-toned organization. It is said that Mr. Hines agrees with Mr. McAdoo that it would be wise to extend the present Government control until 1924.

*What Will
We Do With
Our Ships?*

Allowing all promptness and wisdom in solving the railway problem, we shall scarcely be through with it before Congress is faced with a task of scarcely less magnitude and one in which some factors are even more complicated and difficult—the management of the enormous merchant-marine fleet we are building. Few people realize what the present program will mean by 1920. Before the Civil War, in 1860, we had over half of the ocean tonnage in the world. By 1910 our percentage of the world's shipping had dropped to 12 per cent. With the great demand for ocean transportation suddenly brought by the world war, America began slowly to arouse herself in the matter of shipbuilding, and by 1915 had increased her tonnage from five millions to eight millions—to something like 16 per cent. of the world's total. Now Chairman Hurley, of the United States Shipping Board, talks confidently of an American merchant marine, within a couple of years, of twenty-five million tons.

If he is right in expecting such a growth by the end of 1920, the world's tonnage will then be something like sixty million, of which Great Britain will have about twenty million and the United States twenty-five million, the two together owning three-fourths of all the world's ocean shipping. Japan will be third among the nations in the size of her merchant fleet. In a few years there will be a mighty competition for freights. Is our vast new fleet to be owned and operated by the Government, or owned by the Government and operated privately, or are both ownership and operation to be put in private hands? What are we going to do about the La Follette Act, with its stringent provisions making the operation of American vessels so much more costly than Japanese and British ships? Where are our ships going to coal? Great Britain has stations throughout the seven seas. These are but a few of the great matters that must be threshed over if we are really to do anything worth while with our billions of dollars' worth of new ships.

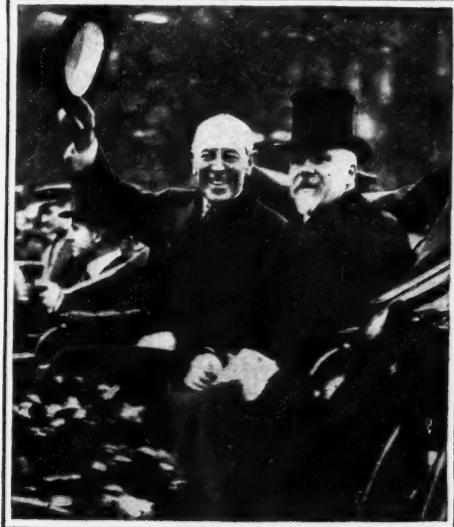
*War Expenses
Still
Growing*

A very little thought will suffice to show people—surprised at the fact that monthly expenses for the war are, with the war ended, greater than ever and continually growing—that there is no need for alarm and that nothing else could have been expected for some months after the signing of the armistice. Last November's expenses made a new record and December's were still greater by more than one hundred million dollars. One needs only to consider, however, that the expenses of demobilization are practically as great as those of mobilization; and that with a war plant growing at a rate never known before in the history of the world, the momentum could not conceivably be stopped within a few days or weeks—to understand that no other result could have been looked for. Then such single items as our shipbuilding program have not been stopped or scaled down. It is probable that our fifth great bond issue on account of the war will call for five billion dollars or more. In the middle of January Secretary of the Treasury Glass gave some suggestions to show the trend of the Treasury Department's plans. It is not improbable that the rate of interest may be raised to 4½ per cent. and it is practically certain that the bonds will be of short terms.



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THE CITIZENS OF PARIS, AND PRESIDENT POINCARE, WELCOME PRESIDENT WILSON ON HIS ARRIVAL IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL



© Committee on Public Information

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 18, 1918, to January 16, 1919)

INCIDENTS DURING THE ARMISTICE

December 18.—The American Jewish Congress, at Philadelphia, frames a bill of rights and selects delegates to lay the principles before the Peace Conference.

It is officially stated that the German long-range cannon fired 168 shells into Paris, killing 196 persons and wounding 417, and that during 1918 there were 1,211 casualties from air raids over Paris.

December 21.—It is semi-officially stated that Italy's casualties in the war were: killed in action, 200,000; died from disease, 300,000; severely wounded, 300,000; prisoners, 500,000.

December 22.—Russia's war casualties are placed at 9,150,000 in a dispatch from Petrograd—including 1,700,000 killed, 1,450,000 disabled, 3,500,000 other wounded, 2,500,000 prisoners.

Austro-Hungarian casualties in the war to the end of May, 1918, are officially reported to have been slightly above 4,000,000.

A report of the American air service shows that 24,512 men were at the front when the war ended, with a record of 854 German planes brought down against an American loss of 271.

December 26.—French war casualties are officially announced as: killed, 1,071,300; prisoners still alive, 446,000; "missing," 314,000.

December 29.—The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, in discussing the Government's peace policies, declares that the principle of a League of Nations is accepted and that intervention in Russia is inevitable.

Czechoslovak and Siberian forces capture Perm, in the Ural Mountains, and destroy the Bolshevik Army, taking 31,000 prisoners.

December 30.—Premier Clemenceau informs the

French Chamber that the old system of alliances, or "balance of power," will be his guiding thought at the Peace Conference; he also announces that he has informed Premier Lloyd George that he will not oppose British ideas on freedom of the seas; the Chamber votes confidence in him 380 to 164.

Reports from Archangel, Russia, describe successful fighting by American troops, the Polish Legion, Russian volunteers, and French—against the Bolsheviks—along the Onega and Dvina rivers, preparatory to establishing winter quarters for the expedition.

January 3.—President Wilson names Herbert Hoover as Director General of an international organization for relief in liberated countries.

January 4.—President Wilson cables an appeal to Congress for an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to relieve conditions of absolute starvation among the liberated peoples of Austria, Turkey, Poland, and Western Russia.

The Serbian Minister to France declares that Serbia will go to war if the Peace Conference confirms the secret treaty under which England, France and Russia agreed that Italy should possess the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea.

Statistics relating to the number of German submarines are made public in London; 202 U-boats were destroyed or captured during the war, 14 self-destructed, 7 interned, 122 surrendered since the armistice, and 58 remaining to be surrendered.

It is officially announced that Norway's loss of merchant ships during the war was 829 vessels, of 1,240,000 tons.

January 6.—Bulgaria's war losses are reported from Sofia to have been: killed and missing, 101,224; wounded, 1,152,399; prisoners, 100,000.

January 7.—Statistics of American wounded are made public; of 71,114 cases in expeditionary hospitals between January 15 and October 15, 1918, 85.3 per cent. returned to duty and 8.8 died.

January 8.—French war casualties are made public: killed in action or died from wounds, 1,028,000; missing, given up for lost, 299,000; wounded, 3,000,000 (three-fourths recovered, 700,000 completely disabled); prisoners, 435,000; the total dead and disabled are between 5 and 6 per cent. of the population and between 26 and 30 per cent. of the men mobilized.

January 11.—The French Foreign Minister announces that France has declined to approve a British proposal for inviting to the Peace Conference representatives of the various Russian governments, in the interest of world harmony; the French hold that the Bolsheviks cannot be recognized as a government.

The American Chief of Staff reports on demobilization: 694,000 men and 47,000 officers have been discharged, and 96,000 overseas troops have returned to the United States.

January 12.—The Supreme War Council—meeting at Paris and attended by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing and the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, together with Marshal Foch and military representatives—begins actual consideration of the peace settlement.

Air raids over Great Britain, it is announced, killed 1,260 civilians and injured 3,500.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

December 19.—King Victor Emmanuel, of Italy, on his arrival in Paris, calls on President Wilson.

December 21.—Premier Orlando of Italy and Foreign Minister Sonnino place before President Wilson Italy's territorial aspirations.

The University of Paris (the Sorbonne) confers upon President Wilson the degree of Doctor, Honoris Causa.

December 25.—The President reviews 10,000 American troops (on Christmas Day) near the American headquarters at Chaumont; he informs the soldiers that he does not find in Allied leaders any difference of principles or of fundamental purpose in the effort to establish peace upon the permanent foundation of right and justice.

December 26.—The President and Mrs. Wilson cross the English Channel from Calais to Dover, and arrive in London; they are met at Charing Cross station by the King and Queen, and are domiciled in Buckingham Palace.

December 27.—The President spends the entire day in discussion with Premier Lloyd George; in the evening he is the guest of King George at a banquet in Buckingham Palace, where he speaks of the general unity of aims found by him among the spokesmen of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and pleads for a proper understanding among leaders of the words "right" and "justice."

December 28.—Officials of the City of London formally welcome President Wilson in the famous Guildhall; in his response the President speaks particularly of the universal demand for a League of Nations.

Premier Lloyd George is quoted as declaring that the conference with the President brought about an agreement on general principles.

December 29-30.—The President attends service in the church of his grandfather at Carlisle, and makes two addresses in Manchester.

December 31.—The President leaves England for Italy, via Paris.

January 3.—Arriving in Rome, the President and Mrs. Wilson are welcomed by King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena; in an address before the joint session of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the President declares that there cannot be another "balance of power" but instead there must be a thoroughly united League of Nations.

January 4.—The President calls upon Pope



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MACHINE GUNS IN THE BERLIN STREET FIGHTING

(As in Russia two years ago, so also in Germany during the past few weeks have the Radical Socialists waged a counter-revolution. Press reports told of the "bombardment" of the imperial palace—the defenses of which are shown in the pictures above. They also told of the "evacuation" of other strategic buildings)





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THREE EMINENT AMERICAN ARCTIC EXPLORERS—ADMIRAL PEARY, VILHALMUR STEFÁNSSON, AND MAJOR-GENERAL A. W. GREELY

(On January 10 the Hubbard Gold Medal, an award by the National Geographic Society, was presented to Mr. Stefansson, who contributes an article on Roosevelt as an explorer to this number of the REVIEW [page 165]. In acknowledging the medal, Mr. Stefansson said that the northern sections of Canada and Alaska would soon be among the greatest grazing regions on earth)

Benedict at the Vatican, visits historic places in Rome, and leaves for Paris with stops at Genoa, Milan, and Turin.

January 7.—The President returns to Paris, and the full American delegation confers with Premier Clemenceau.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) criticizes the President's proposal for the re-creation of a League of Nations as part of the

work of the Peace Conference; an amendment to the Revenue bill is adopted, placing an extra 10 per cent. tax on the profits of the employers of child labor.

December 19.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the pending Revenue bill, abolishing the complicated zone system of postage rates on second-class matter.

December 20.—The Senate ratifies a treaty with Guatemala, designed to develop commercial relations.

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December 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) criticizes five of the President's "fourteen points" essential in the peace settlement, and calls attention to the fact that the peace treaty must be acceptable to the Senate.

December 23.—The Senate passes the Revenue bill (under discussion for two weeks), without important change from the Finance Committee's draft, designed to raise \$6,000,000,000 by taxation in 1919 and \$4,000,000,000 yearly thereafter; the measure goes to Conference Committee.

January 7.—In the House, Chairman Sims of the Interstate Commerce Committee introduces two amendments to the Railway Control Act, which would extend Government operation for five years and provide an additional "revolving fund" of \$500,000,000 (the original half-billion being practically exhausted during 1918).

January 9.—The House passes a measure authorizing the Secretary of War to adjust contracts for material, partly fulfilled when war ended.

January 13.—The House appropriates \$100,000,000 for furnishing foodstuffs "to populations in Europe and countries contiguous thereto outside of Germany," in accordance with a cabled request from the President; a \$27,000,000 River and Harbor bill is also passed.

January 16.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) is exonerated of the charge of disloyalty, by vote of 50 to 21.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 19.—The President nominates Joseph B. Eastman (a member of the Massachusetts Public Utilities Commission) for membership on the Interstate Commerce Commission.

December 30.—Secretary Daniels is questioned by the House Naval Affairs Committee, regarding the three-year construction program of sixteen battleships and battle cruisers, to make the navy "as powerful as that of any nation in the world."

January 2.—Both branches of the Michigan legislature adopt without debate the proposed prohibition amendment to the federal constitution—becoming the sixteenth State to ratify.

January 7.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Ohio and Oklahoma.

January 8.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Maine, Tennessee, and Idaho.

Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger and four other Socialist leaders are found guilty, by a federal jury in Chicago, of conspiring to interfere with the successful conduct of the war.

January 11.—Walker D. Hines, Assistant Director-General of Railroads, is appointed by the President to succeed Mr. McAdoo in full control.

January 12.—The resignation of Attorney-General Thomas Watt Gregory, from the President's cabinet, to take effect March 4, is announced.

January 13.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the so-called Reed "bone dry" amendment, forbidding private importation of liquor into prohibition States, reversing the lower court.

January 13.—The legislatures of California and Washington ratify the prohibition amendment to the federal constitution.

January 14.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and North Carolina.

January 15.—The legislatures of Iowa, Colorado, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Utah ratify the prohibition amendment.

January 16.—The prohibition amendment submitted to the State legislatures in December, 1917, becomes Article XVIII of the Constitution of the United States, with the ratification by Nebraska, the thirty-sixth state; Wyoming and Missouri also adopt the amendment; the Article prohibits the manufacture, sale, and transportation of liquor one year after the formal proclamation by the Secretary of State.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 19.—A conference of delegates of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, at Berlin, decides to hold elections to a National Assembly on January 19.

Marshal Joffre, hero of the first Battle of the Marne, is made a member of the French Academy—one of the forty "immortals."

December 22.—A Jugoslav Ministry is formed at Belgrade, with M. Protich (a Serbian) as Premier.

Thomas G. Masaryk takes the oath of office as President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, at Prague.

December 24.—A new Portuguese ministry is formed, with Tamagnini as Premier.

December 28.—Results of the British Parliamentary elections on December 12 become known; the coalition Government under Premier Lloyd George will command 471 seats in the new parliament out of 707; Sinn Feiners elect 73 members, who will refuse to sit.

Three Independent Socialist members retire from the German Government, leaving the three Majority Socialists, including Premier Frederic Ebert, in entire control.

December 31.—The Rumanian Government receives from a special commission from the Transylvanian Government (including Transylvania, Banat, Marmaros, and Bukowina) a document containing a pact of union in accord with the desires of the Transylvania National Assembly.

January 7.—The split among the German Socialist leaders widens and the factions resort to fighting, with small arms and artillery, in the streets of Berlin; Dr. Karl Liebknecht, head of the Spartacus group, and Police Chief Eichorn, champion "the rights of the people" and condemn Philip Scheideman (Majority Socialist leader) and Chancellor Ebert.

Leadership of the Opposition in the British House of Commons falls upon the chairman of the Labor party (the largest group outside the coalition), Wm. W. Adamson, a Scottish miner.

January 8.—The two Bolshevik leaders of Russia disagree; the Minister of War (Leon Trotsky) arrests the Premier (Nikolai Lenin), and declares himself dictator.

January 9.—Government troops in Berlin are reënforced and regain control.

January 10.—The British Government under Premier Lloyd George is reorganized as the result of the elections.

A republic is proclaimed in Luxemburg, the young Grand Duchess retiring.

Strikes in Buenos Aires, fomented by European agitators, result in the establishment of a military dictatorship by General Dellepaine in the avowed interest of the Government.

January 11.—Government troops in Berlin capture the *Vorwärts* building, with the use of field guns.

January 13.—A general strike is called in Lima and Callao, Peru.

January 15.—Announcement is made at Berlin of the completion of the draft of a constitution, creating a union of fifteen states, Prussia being divided into eight.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 19.—The British Air Ministry announces the completion of a flight of 3950 miles, from Cairo, Egypt, to Delhi, India, begun on December 13.

December 26.—The American fleet of battleships and destroyers from overseas joins the home fleet in New York harbor and is reviewed by Secretary Daniels.

January 1.—The transport *Northern Pacific*, carrying 2500 soldiers, runs aground at night on the southern shore of Long Island.

January 8.—Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who died suddenly at his home on January 6, is buried with simple ceremonies at Oyster Bay, N. Y.

January 12.—A United States Navy dirigible flies from New York to Hampton Roads, Virginia. . . . Twenty-one persons are killed in a rear-end collision on the New York Central Railroad, near Batavia, N. Y.

OBITUARY

December 17.—Brig.-Gen. J. R. McGinness, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 78.

December 20.—Bernard N. Baker, of Baltimore, a noted advocate of an enlarged American merchant marine, 64. . . . Charles Henry McKee, president and editor of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 66.

December 21.—Walter Hines Page, recently American Ambassador to Great Britain, 63 (see page 152).

December 22.—Major-Gen. Jacob Ford Kent, U. S. A., retired, 83.

December 23.—Dr. Donald H. Currie, port physician of Boston and an authority on leprosy, 42.

December 24.—Henry Mitchell MacCracken, Chancellor Emeritus of New York University, 78. . . . Benjamin O. Flower, at various times editor of the *American Spectator*, the *Arena*, the *Coming Age* and the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, 60. Prince Conrad von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst, twice Premier of Austria, 55.

December 25.—J. Wilbur Chapman, D.D., the

noted Presbyterian evangelist, 59. . . . Dale W. Jones, former Governor of Arkansas, 69. . . . Mrs. Harriet Mann Miller ("Olive Thorne"), a widely known writer on birds and bird life, 87.

December 28.—George P. White, a negro member of the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, from North Carolina, 66.

December 29.—Abby Leech, for thirty years professor of Greek at Vassar College, 63.

December 31.—Rossiter W. Raymond, a distinguished New York mining engineer, 78.

January 1.—David Lubin, the Californian who founded the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, 78. . . . Richard George Knowles, a widely known lecturer, 59.

January 2.—Rear-Admiral Abraham V. Zane, U. S. N., retired, 68. . . . Rev. John Wherry, D.D., for half a century engaged in missionary work in China (translator of the Bible into Chinese), 79.

January 3.—Rear-Admiral Samuel Williams Very, U. S. N., retired, 72. . . . Frank Duveneck, painter of "The Whistling Boy" and other works of art, 71.

January 4.—Count George F. von Hertling, of Bavaria, German Chancellor from October, 1917, to September, 1918, 75. . . . Brig. Gen. John E. Stephens, U. S. A., 44.

January 6.—Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the United States, 60 (see pages 153-166).

January 8.—Major-Gen. J. Franklin Bell, U. S. A., commander of the Department of the East, 62.

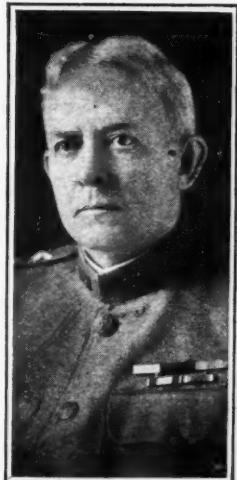
January 10.—Wallace Clement Sabine, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard, 50.

January 12.—John Mason, the American actor, 60. . . . Sir Charles Wyndham, the English actor, widely known in the United States, 81.

January 13.—Horace Fletcher, noted advocate of proper food mastication, 70.

January 14.—George R. Sheldon, New York financier and former Treasurer of Republican National Committee, 61.

January 15.—Henry J. Duveen, the New York art dealer, 64.



MAJOR-GENERAL J. FRANK-

LIN BELL

(General Bell, who died suddenly last month, was one of the best-known and most energetic of American army officers)



CARTOONS OF THE MOMENT



THE RIGHT KIND OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE
From the *News* (Chicago)



HOW THEY TURNED THE PRUSSIAN TIDE AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland)



IS THIS WHAT WE FOUGHT FOR?
From the *Herald* (New York)



MARS WAITING FOR THE FERRY
From the *News* (Chicago)



NO ADMITTANCE
From the *World* (New York)

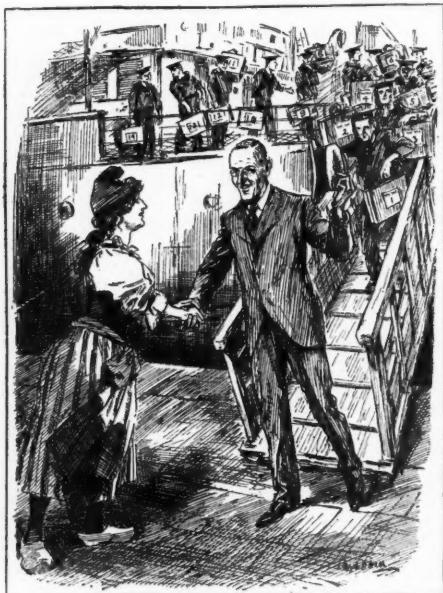


WATCHFUL WAITING
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



THE OLD WAY AND THE NEW
From the *American* (Baltimore, Md.)





"LE BIENVENU"
From *Punch* (London)

ON this page the cartoons picture President Wilson's welcome in France, the difficulties under which he is attempting to bring the nations together, and the enthusiasm with which he is hailed by the smaller powers.



© George Matthew Adams

CAN HE PRODUCE THE HARMONY?
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THE LITTLE FELLOWS: "HE'S OUR GOOD FRIEND"
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



READY TO DISPOSE OF MILITARISM
From *Esquella* (Barcelona, Spain)



THE CASE IS READY FOR THE JURY
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



THE NEXT MENACE TO BE OVERCOME
From the *News* (Dayton)

Whatever the rest of the world may think, the American cartoonists have made up their minds about Bolshevism, in and out of Russia. They have a chance to set forth their opinions of it on this page.



"GEE!"
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)



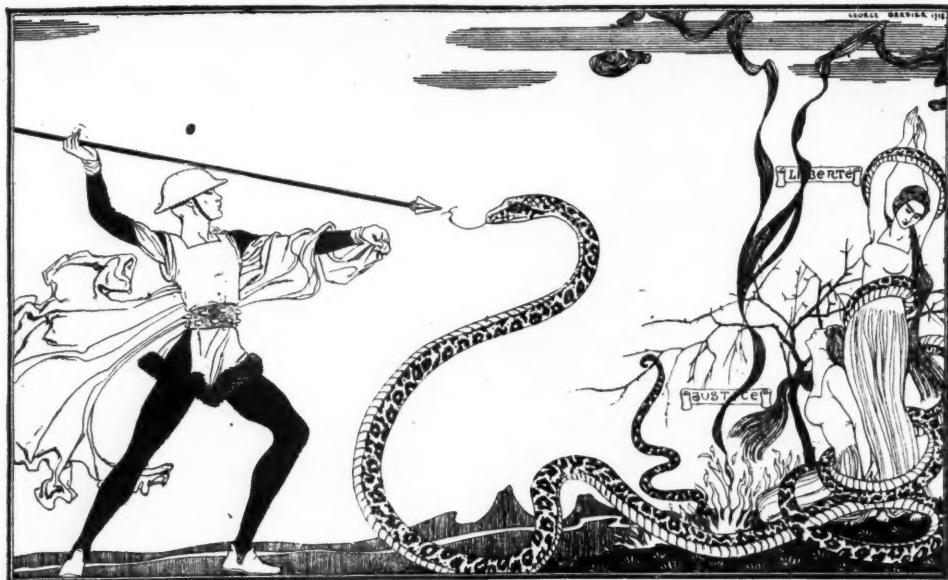
I ARREST YOU IN THE NAME OF NO LAW
From the *Evening World* (New York)



© George Matthew Adams
CAN GERMANY PUT THE GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE?
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



THE FIRING SQUAD
From the *World* (New York)



YOUNG AMERICA THE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY AND ORDER

From *La Baionnette* (Paris)

France rather fancifully conceives of America as a doughty knight battling for the world's freedom from oppression. This idea is gracefully expressed by *Le Baionette*.

The might of the Anglo-American entente is the theme of the Baltimore *American* cartoonist, while the New York *Times* pays a truthful tribute to Theodore Roosevelt.

AS LONG AS THESE TWO STAND TOGETHER
From the *American* (Baltimore, Md.)AS HE WILL BE REMEMBERED
From the *Times* (New York)

THE RETURN OF THE SOLDIER

BY HON. NEWTON D. BAKER

(Secretary of War)

WHEN the armistice was signed the strength of the Army of the United States was 3,734,420 officers and men. Of these, there were in Europe and Siberia a total of 2,002,175; in camps and posts in the United States, 1,676,510; and in our insular possessions, 55,735.

The problem of demobilizing this army rapidly and fairly was at once undertaken. In order to use the available tonnage which otherwise would be idle, General Pershing was directed at once to return to the United States such casual and detached units as formed no essential part of his active army, and especially to use all of the suitable ship space for the return of such sick and wounded as were sufficiently recovered to travel with safety. A few convalescent patients from the hospitals had been returned to the United States prior to the armistice; their number, however, was small, as their transportation subjected them to the submarine risk and only such soldiers could be returned as were in condition to deal with the emergencies presented by submarine attack.

General Pershing at once directed the extension and improvement of the camps at Brest, St. Nazaire, and Bordeaux, which had been used as receiving stations for troops arriving in France, the purpose of this extension being to provide accommodations for the accumulation of troops to use without delay all of the available tonnage. General Pershing has designated eight divisions to form the Army of Occupation; of them four are Regular Army divisions, two National Guard divisions, and two National Army divisions. He has set aside for operating the line of communications seven divisions, of which two are Regular Army, three National Guard, and two National Army. Nine other divisions are continuing their training, and eighteen divisions have been set aside for early return to the United States, of which three have already embarked and eight are assembling at the ports, awaiting ships.

It is not possible as yet to state with definiteness how long it will be necessary to

maintain our army abroad, nor how rapidly it can be reduced in size. Two elements are involved: first, an adequate force must be retained to carry out effectively the terms of the armistice and the terms of any peace arrangement which require the coöperation of the army; second, the limitation of transportation facilities.

With regard to the first of these considerations, it seems fairly clear that a relatively small body of troops coöperating with the diminished armies of the French, British, and Italian will be sufficient. With regard to the second limitation, it is to be remembered that in the rapid dispatch of our great army to France we had the use of a very substantial part of the British passenger-carrying fleet.

Now that the armistice has intervened, Great Britain, in justice to her own army, must return her Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand troops, who have been longer away from their homes than ours, and, while the British Government is generously assisting us in the return of our soldiers, we can not ask as great assistance as she was able to give us while hostilities still continued.

We are, however, transforming a large number of cargo-carrying ships; the Navy has placed at our disposal a fleet of battleships and cruisers; all of our own passenger-carrying fleet is retained in the service; and efforts are being made to secure some of the passenger ships which Germany retained in her ports at the outbreak of the war. From all of these sources, it is hoped ultimately to obtain a capacity of from 200,000 to 250,000 men per month. These figures are stated, not as limits, but as the present prospect, it being understood that every resource is being explored in order to increase the rapidity of the return of the soldiers.

Both in Europe and here, the effort of the War Department is to return and demobilize this army fairly and without preference to individuals, and as rapidly as can be done in order that these men may return to their civilian employments. By this course, the re-

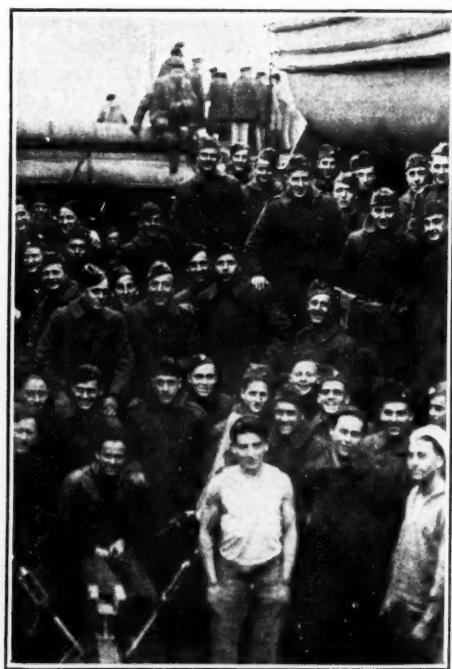
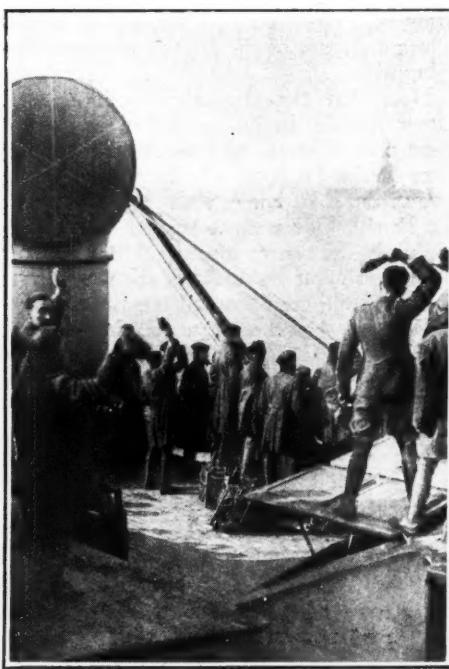
sumption of industry and commerce in the country will be expedited and the men who have forfeited industrial, commercial, and educational opportunity in order to serve their country will be justly and equally afforded opportunities to resume their interrupted careers.

It is, of course, impossible to return and demobilize them all at once, and special branches of the service, by reason of their continued usefulness in the work still to be done, will necessarily still be delayed in their demobilization. But as far as possible men will be discharged equally and without reference to individual preference or desire, except in a relatively few cases of special hardship by reason of deaths and changed circumstances at home, in which cases camp commanders are authorized to recognize urgent situations by preferential discharge.

The machinery of demobilization is now fully organized and working. Each soldier must have a physical examination and careful

records must be preserved in order that the completion of honorable service may be made of permanent record in the War Department. We are, therefore, discharging men at the rate of about a thousand officers and twenty-five thousand soldiers per day, and have already given honorable discharges to more than 700,000 men.

By the time this statement is printed, the number discharged will be nearly a million; and those who are anxious to know when they can expect the return of their soldier friends will have seen the rapidity with which discharges are taking place. Both the soldiers and their friends can rely upon the War Department to speed up these discharges. Their patience and coöperation in the process will assist those who are doing the work. The one rule guiding us in this whole matter is that justice and speed in the return of the soldiers and their demobilization is the due of the soldier and the best interest of the country.



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THE RETURN OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER, AFTER WORTHY PARTICIPATION IN THE GREAT WAR

(In the illustration on the left the boys are enthusiastic over their approach to the Statue of Liberty, in New York Harbor. On the right is a group of Marines who took part in the famous battles at Château Thierry, Belleau Wood, and elsewhere. All of them have been awarded the Croix de Guerre and many of them the Distinguished Service Cross also.)

EUROPE IN TRANSITION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. DEMOBILIZATION

LAST month I reviewed in some detail the main political problems waiting upon the Versailles Congress for settlement. In the present article, covering in the main the period of preliminary conferences necessarily secret, before the main work begins, I shall discuss briefly some of the salient features of another great phase of war settlement, which is proceeding rapidly, changing the face of Europe, solving some problems only to raise others—namely, demobilization.

Leaving Russia out of the calculation, we can safely estimate that not less than twenty millions of men, perhaps thirty millions, are in part returning to peace conditions, and will in growing numbers return in the next few months until there is left only something like the number which was regularly employed in standing armies before the outbreak of the war.

This estimate covers Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the minor states which have been fighting, including the fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Not all of this number (and I think 25,000,000 is a conservative estimate), not half of them, are returning from the front; not half of them have ever been used in the fighting. But all of them have been mobilized for the war, all of them have been working or fighting, occupied with tasks which were the direct or the indirect outgrowth of the struggle, tasks which were practically completed when the German power to resist was broken and the Armistice of Senlis was transformed into effective disarmament of the German nation.

Now for this great phenomenon we have no parallel in history, because we have no previous example of a general war of the peoples, as contrasted with the states. At the close of the Napoleonic struggle all the European states had large armies, but France, most completely mobilized, had raised 500,000 for the Waterloo campaign out of a population of 25,000,000, while Serbia, in the present war, with a population in excess of 4,000,000, but under 5,000,000, has cer-

tainly raised 400,000 men for fighting service alone.

In the old wars the business of the nations in many respects went on as before. There were men left to plow and to sow. A century ago the manufactures were still insignificant. Supplying an army with material was no great task. In no small degree the armies lived on the regions in which they fought or camped, and in nearly a quarter of a century of almost continuous warfare only an insignificant portion of France, for example, was invaded, while Germany, frequently overrun, suffered less in the way of destruction of material wealth than any one of the dozen northern departments of France in the latest struggle.

When the Napoleonic Wars were over the mass of the soldiers returned to the conditions which had existed before the struggle. As a matter of fact, those who had long been in the armies found better conditions of life, of communications, of material prosperity. At least this was true in Western Europe, where the wonderful achievements of Napoleonic organization had transformed territories always French, or territories long occupied by French armies and administered by French officials.

And this demobilization merely involved the soldiers. There was nothing to compare with the contemporary mobilization of the whole male population of the country and of a very large percentage of the women. Actually war, even the great Napoleonic Wars, surpassing the wars of the past enormously, affected but a relatively small percentage of the population of any country—so small a percentage that the soldiers who returned were absorbed easily; they created hardly a ripple on the surface of the economic sea.

In our own Civil War the same thing happened. In the South the great losses, in proportion to the total white population, left a gap not easily filled, while the change of conditions incident to freeing the slaves imposed upon the veterans of the Southern armies burdens which consumed all their industries. In the North, while in part the

absorption was rapid, there was the additional factor supplied by the sudden opening up of the great West. Thither went thousands of soldiers, who, having preserved the Union, contributed only less greatly to its future by laying the foundations for an expansion of the country economically to the Pacific. Thus were absorbed those who did not return to old conditions.

II. THE DIFFERENCE

But to-day the return of the vast hordes who were yesterday either in the armies or the factories devoted to war manufacture, presents a new problem. And the problem is accentuated by the fact that the percentage of men who come from agricultural pursuits, as contrasted with those who come from industrial occupations, is far less than fifty years ago. A century ago the percentage of the population not engaged in agriculture was comparatively insignificant.

For those who left the farm for the war, the farm remains, save in devastated districts, and even in the devastated districts there is only a restricted area in which, with government aid, agriculture cannot soon be renewed. But for those who worked in the factories—certainly the larger share of the British and German mobilized population—the return must be postponed until such time as the industries can be restored, until the factories and machine shops, which have been made over to do war work—to make shells, for example—can be transformed to their old uses.

Literally millions and millions of men and women will thus be temporarily without occupation. In France, in Belgium, in Poland, there must be added to this the population of districts whose cities have been destroyed, whose factories have been stripped of their machinery. Before the war Lille, for example, was one of the greatest manufacturing towns of Europe. But to-day, although the city is practically intact and the population only slightly reduced, the factories are without machinery; many have been ruined.

In the northern departments of France, which have been fought over for four years, even the villages are gone in many cases. The agricultural as well as the mechanical tools are lacking. In restricted areas even the fruit trees have disappeared, while for nearly five hundred miles, from Switzerland to the sea, there is a strip, varying in width

from twenty to fifty miles, which is more sterile than any similar area of the world's surface, save the immemorial deserts, by reason of long-continued shell fire.

The problem of demobilization is, then, difficult in the extreme. The fighting is over. The armies may in the main go home, but having gone home, what shall the soldiers or even the mechanics do? How shall they resume their old tasks and who will feed and clothe them until they can support themselves? To defeat Germany, Europe transformed itself until war was the only industry, but it took four years to do this and the reverse process will hardly be materially shorter.

Again, there is the question of communications. Anyone who has traveled in Europe in the last three years knows how progressively the railroads have run down, save only those lines which were immediately occupied in transporting men or material to the front. In Britain, in Belgium, in France, railway lines used before the war for ordinary purposes have been taken up and relaid along the front. The rolling stock of all lines has gone to pieces and there has been almost no renewal. The roadbeds have deteriorated because there was lacking both material and labor.

Add to this the consequences of submarine warfare on the ocean tonnage. The world is short of shipping, desperately short, and moreover such shipping as exists must in no small measure be employed in moving millions of troops back to America, Canada, Australia, and in transporting provisions to the armies still maintained in Europe by British and French colonies, as well as by the United States. Great maritime ports like Havre have been entirely taken over by the military and the naval authorities and can only be turned back after long delays, which will be extended by the need of readjusting things for the work of commerce. How long before Paris can expect to have full use of Havre, its natural port, is a thing no one can forecast.

Now one may multiply the examples of this dislocation in the life of the nations which have won the war, which have suffered no essential transformation in their political or economic conditions, have not experienced defeat or revolution and find themselves in such relations with their former commercial markets that they can, as soon as it is possible, look forward to new and even extended trade with them. Yet mobilization

and demobilization cannot take place in the same way. Millions may be called to arms in a relatively restricted time, but even there wise authority waits upon immediate necessity, but millions cannot be demobilized in a month or even a year without dangers incalculable, political quite as much as economic.

III. IN GERMANY

Now, looking at the German aspect, it will be seen that the difficulties are enormously increased. Germany has not been devastated, but Germany is invaded. More German territory is now in Allied hands than Germany ever held in France and almost half of it, Alsace-Lorraine, is permanently lost, while even larger areas are either in Polish hands or are scenes of contests between Polish and German elements, which are steadily growing more bitter.

But not only is Germany invaded; she is still blockaded. Her great ports are as idle as they were at this time last year. Her fleet, her commercial fleet, is still locked up in home or neutral ports, and it remains a matter of doubt as to whether it may not immediately pass to Allied control, and pass permanently, to make good the loss of Allied marine incident to the undersea warfare of the past four years.

Again, Germany is deprived of all possible chance to import those raw materials necessary to her industry. She cannot start her factories, even when she has transformed them to peace uses again, unless she gets permission. To this must be added the fact that the French have retaken the Lorraine iron fields, stolen from them in 1871, and will hold them henceforth. Thus Germany loses a very important source of her iron supplies. In addition the Poles are almost certain to take the great coal fields of Upper Silesia. The French may retake the coal districts of the Saar, taken from them by the Germans in 1814 and 1815.

Back of all this stands the fact that Germany cannot expect immediately, perhaps ever, to reclaim her old markets in countries once open to her. The character of the war has closed many avenues of trade to her—if not forever, for that important period when she will seek to get on her feet again. In the same way neither Britain nor France is likely again to open its ports to German ships on the old terms, and the same is true of Italy. All three nations permitted Germany to compete with their own citizens in

home lands on equal terms. This will not occur again for at least a generation, and Germany is thrown back upon South America as possibly her leading non-hostile market.

But if the machinery of national business in Allied nations has in a large measure run down, that in Germany, despite the absence of devastating invasion, has gone still more to general rack and ruin. Her railroads are in worse condition than the British and the French. Such essential materials as rubber have long been lacking. Her cities, once the cleanest, have become the dirtiest in Europe, and her population, while never starved, has suffered more from underfeeding over a long period than that of any other great nation in the war.

To all this must be added the financial condition due to the losses of the war. All nations have piled up terrific debts, but to the internal debt of Germany must now be added that external debt which will be demanded by her conquerors to repair the injuries, the wanton injuries and devastations, of German armies in the hour of temporary victory. To pay for these injuries Germany will have to turn over in the next few years sums which it is impossible to calculate, but will hardly fall very far below the \$20,000,000,-000 mark.

This is the condition which confronts some ten million men, now returning from the battle front or laying down their tools in the war industrial establishments. Nor is this all. Besides there are the factors which grow out of the revolution. The whole governmental system of Germany has been upset. Not all the old officials are gone, but almost all are going, and with their departure progressive deterioration is inevitable. The old police force has gone, for example, and order is maintained haphazard in a country once the most rigidly policed in the world. The railroad system, once the model of the Continent, has become a thing of mere chance. Trains run or fail to run with no apparent regard to public convenience or necessity.

Such is the German problem of demobilization, accentuated by the political revolution, replete with minor problems which must take a full generation to solve and full of dangers which can hardly be overestimated when one thinks of the events in Russia, where the conditions were, to be sure, worse, but the population more fully accustomed to hardship and inefficiency.

IV. CASUALTIES

We have further to reckon the effect upon Europe of the terrible battle losses. Exact figures are still lacking, but approximate statistics of slaughter are beginning to be available. We know that the German loss in killed alone was not less than 2,000,000; the French, 1,400,000; the British, 1,000,000; the Italian, 500,000; the Austrian, close to 1,500,000. At least 6,500,000 men, the best of the various countries, were thus removed by death due to wounds or disease among the five great powers.

But to these figures we must add many more millions who died as an indirect consequence of the struggle—children by the hundreds of thousands, for example; and it will probably never be possible to fix the mortality of the populations of invaded districts in Belgium and France. Thus, while demobilization releases vast masses of men, it cannot restore many millions who were the most valuable part of the industrial resources of the great powers.

And as men have been drawn to the armies in ever-increasing numbers to replace the vast wastage in casualties, women have been drawn into industry until to-day many European cities are mainly operated by women, while millions of women have achieved independence and prosperity by labor hitherto performed by men. Moreover, upon these women, in Britain, the vote has already been bestowed, and the same is true in Germany. What, therefore, will be the political consequences of this double transformation of the rôle of the woman, first industrial and then political?

Now it is an axiom of all European politics that the world is waiting upon the return of the soldier, upon demobilization. The men who ran the war, on the political side, are still in charge, but their day is rapidly drawing to a close, unless it shall prove that the soldiers returning from the trenches and the workmen returning from factories where, because of war necessities, they have been able to demand and receive huge wages and vastly improved conditions of labor, give their support to the men now in power; and those who are in power show little confidence that this will occur.

The labor problems of the time to come are too vast even to be suggested here, but one may measure the political possibilities when it is recalled that in Great Britain there is a firm conviction in many quarters

that a Labor Ministry will follow the new Lloyd George Cabinet and at no very distant time. Labor and Women, these two elements—the one wholly transformed, the other a new factor—are certain to add to the puzzles of the time that is to come.

Thus roughly I have striven to recapitulate some of the main features of the situation which exists in Europe at the moment when the Congress of Versailles is undertaking its colossal task. In every one of the great countries of Europe there is the plain possibility that revolution, peaceful or violent, may at any moment intervene to recall the delegates representing them at Versailles. The volcano is there. One may exaggerate its immediate threat. One must recognize that there are two Europes, only one of which is fully represented at Versailles.

If German revolution takes a violent, a Russian, form the Congress of Versailles will have to be adjourned to deal with the German problem, as the Congress of Vienna was adjourned to permit Europe to dispose of Napoleon at Waterloo. If the debates at Versailles are too long protracted or take forms distasteful to the demobilizing millions, changes in ministry, or even more violent changes, in various Allied countries may likewise affect the Peace Conference.

We in America have no accurate appreciation of European conditions because we have nothing at home with which to compare them. The peoples of Europe have been strained by this war almost to the breaking point. In Russia they have broken. The whole fabric of their economic and political life has been changed. Having fought and suffered untold agonies for four years, millions of men are now returning, not to peace conditions, but to paralysis of all peace industries following upon the transformations due to the war. Those who would work may be unable to work for months, perhaps for years. Those who would not work will find an infinite opportunity for agitation and disorder.

V. DANGERS

I think it is the common belief of most of the best-informed observers of European conditions that the war went far too long to permit a return to the conditions of 1914 in any of the great nations. Men differ widely as to what is coming. Bolshevism is certainly one of the things that has grown out of the exhaustion of one great nation.

The paralysis of German leadership, with certain Bolshevik tendencies, is at least a related phenomenon. But the changes which are assured in Britain are different rather in the manner they are to be accomplished than in their extent, if Englishmen are to be believed.

The thing which I am trying to say is that we in America shall make a very great mistake now if, the war being over, we concentrate our attention upon the Congress of Versailles alone. There are other great forces at work on the Continent. Europe is in transition. This World's War, with all its terrible sufferings, has unmistakably produced a dislocation of thought and of policy comparable only with the same effects of the Wars of the French Revolution.

The Congress of Vienna, which sought to liquidate the Wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, was blind to the facts which had been established during the great conflicts which it undertook to liquidate. It went blandly and confidently to the task of restoring the Europe of 1789 in 1815. The result was that nothing of its work survived the century, while almost every detail in its peace-making turned out to be a direct cause of a later war. The greatest problem today must be whether the Versailles Congress will better understand its world than did the last similar gathering.

But, unlike the Congress of Vienna, that of Versailles has not a firm grip upon the world. I have dwelt upon the different conditions in 1815 and 1919. Then the masses of the populations of the various countries were not involved in the war. Relatively small bodies of men, only, were demobilized and the governments themselves were the unchallenged masters of their nations. This is not true to-day. It is not even approximately true. Either the governments represented at Versailles will follow the will of their respective publics or they will fall, while the conference is still in progress. In a very large degree all the various ministries of the Allied countries are provisional, depending upon constituencies whose will has not been ascertained, since the voting population has been mainly under arms for the past four years.

And we must expect the currents of national emotion, unperceived at this distance, but instantly and powerfully felt in Paris, to have a great influence upon the historic debates at Versailles. Peace is being made at a moment when the whole economic and

political systems of the great as well as the small European nations are in a state bordering upon chaos. Concomitant with this process of winding up the war, there will be going on the far vaster task of beginning the business of peace, economically, industrially. Problems of food and of work will press upon the ministers who are debating at Versailles the questions of frontiers and of international agreements.

The Congress of Vienna broke up with its work only summarily done because Napoleon suddenly returned from Elba and threatened to undo all that had been accomplished. Versailles will be under a similar threat growing out of the dangers and the menaces to be found in the conditions in each great nation as a consequence of the prolongation of the war. Before it has progressed far powerful voices may be raised among the newly returned soldier and workman elements in one or many nations, and these voices will have to be heeded.

Moreover, keeping step with the Versailles Congress, great transformations will be going on in all countries. United for more than four years in a common determination to destroy the German peril, all the various elements in the political life of the several nations of Europe have regained and reasserted their freedom with the victory. Political feuds and struggles suspended for the war have been renewed. Not only this, but the balance between the forces has been greatly shifted in many instances. Labor, for example, has attained a new influence, which may make it at least temporarily dominant in several nations and capable of naming its own leaders as the ministers of the governments.

VI. THE FACT

It is entirely possible, it is even probable, that in the main Europe will outwardly slip back into old ways, at least for the time. The very exhaustion, which seems to be fraught with so much menace, may prove in the end to restrain exactly the forces which are most feared. Yet, holding to the optimistic view as one must, we are bound to realize that it may prove that the end of the World War is by no means the end of our perplexities, our confusions, and even our agonies.

There are two situations in Europe, in the world to-day, only one of them mirrored at Versailles, and the other, the economic

and political situation of Europe, will inevitably undo and overset the work of the Versailles gathering if it takes directions which are at least forecast by events in Russia and in Germany. We have nothing in America that remotely suggests European conditions. We have nothing which supplies us with any measuring-stick. We are in Europe and in the world of affairs, at this moment centering in Europe, to stay. But in this state of flux we are almost the only wholly stable element.

The Congress of Versailles is undertaking to settle political questions, to redraw political boundaries, and to redistribute political possessions. It is making a new map of Europe, western Asia, and Africa. It is undertaking to fix questions of indemnities and last of all to erect some sort of association of the nations of the world which will make war impossible in the future and provide the machinery for international combination against any disturbing factor.

But at the same moment there is abroad in Europe another spirit which seeks not to abolish but to perpetuate war, to substitute for international warfare the warfare of the classes. For those who press this newer doctrine that nationalism which at Versailles is to be a dominant principle, is liberating enslaved races and protecting small nations, is of no importance. Internationalism, not nationalism, is the prevailing principle of Bolshevism, and Bolshevism borrowed it directly from German Socialism.

If the Russian gospel prevails in Germany, Western Europe will find itself condemned to a new struggle, nor will it be immune from internal dissensions growing out of the presence in Italy, France, and even in England, of those who hold to the principles professed in Russia to-day.

We must see the thing as it is. We hope and we believe that order and democracy, as we understand and practise it in America, will continue to prevail in western Europe and ultimately rise to control in the lands east of the Rhine and of the Vistula. If it does, if the work of Versailles is performed in accordance with the principles of liberal democracy, of representative democracy, which concedes the fundamental axiom that just governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed, if no new Alsace-Lorraine is created and no old offense like those of Vienna against Italy repeated, the results will endure and prove the foundation for a better world, but a

world which has progressed without new and general revolution.

On the other hand, the conditions of demobilization, of economic disorder and disorganization in all the nations which have been long at war, provide the situations and the material out of which revolutions may develop. The next year is going to be far more critical than the last, when the enemy, strong as he was, could be recognized and fought across the trench-lines. And the greatest dangers and the most important developments will not be discovered by the most patient observation of the Conference.

At Vienna Old Europe undertook to lay down the conditions under which a new Europe it knew nothing about, save to hate, should henceforth exist. The failure was prompt and immeasurable. Now, I think everyone must recognize that, as a consequence of the recent war, there is, not a New Europe but a new world, and the question to-day is whether the statesmen who meet at Versailles and, in the great majority of cases, represent the Old World of 1914 perfectly, can understand or sympathetically represent the new. We in America think of the war as political and of the forthcoming peace in political terms, with certain moral amendments, but there are millions in Europe who are thinking not in political or moral terms, as we understand them, but economic. They believe that destruction incident to the war, destruction of institutions as well as property, has cleared the way for them. Throughout the next few months we can never afford for a moment to cease watching them or forget that none of the principles which they advocate will be championed at Versailles, which means that, so far as they are able, they will compel the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, when it is made.

VII. THE TASK

In a very real sense, then, we may say of the Congress of Versailles that it represents a desperate effort of democracy, as we understand it, to liquidate the World War and so liquidate it as to preserve itself. If it succeeds, if at the same time those men and those political parties now in control in France, Britain, and Italy, succeed in preventing domestic disorder and in achieving international accord, then the dangers which Bolshevism and its milder German image typify may be escaped.

But the alternative is obvious and under-

lies all the European apprehension, unmistakable to-day, when the Versailles Conference is assembling. The German aspect of the war disappeared with the signing of the Armistice of Senlis. Disarmed Germany, is no longer a peril, and there is not the smallest likelihood that we shall have to fear a German attack for decades to come. The collapse of militarism in Germany is more complete than that of militarism as expressed by Napoleon in France a century ago. It has not only failed, but instead of Waterloo, with its magnificent if disastrous fight, there is the inglorious surrendering of the fleet and quitting of the army, with guns still in its hands and its machine intact in all save courage.

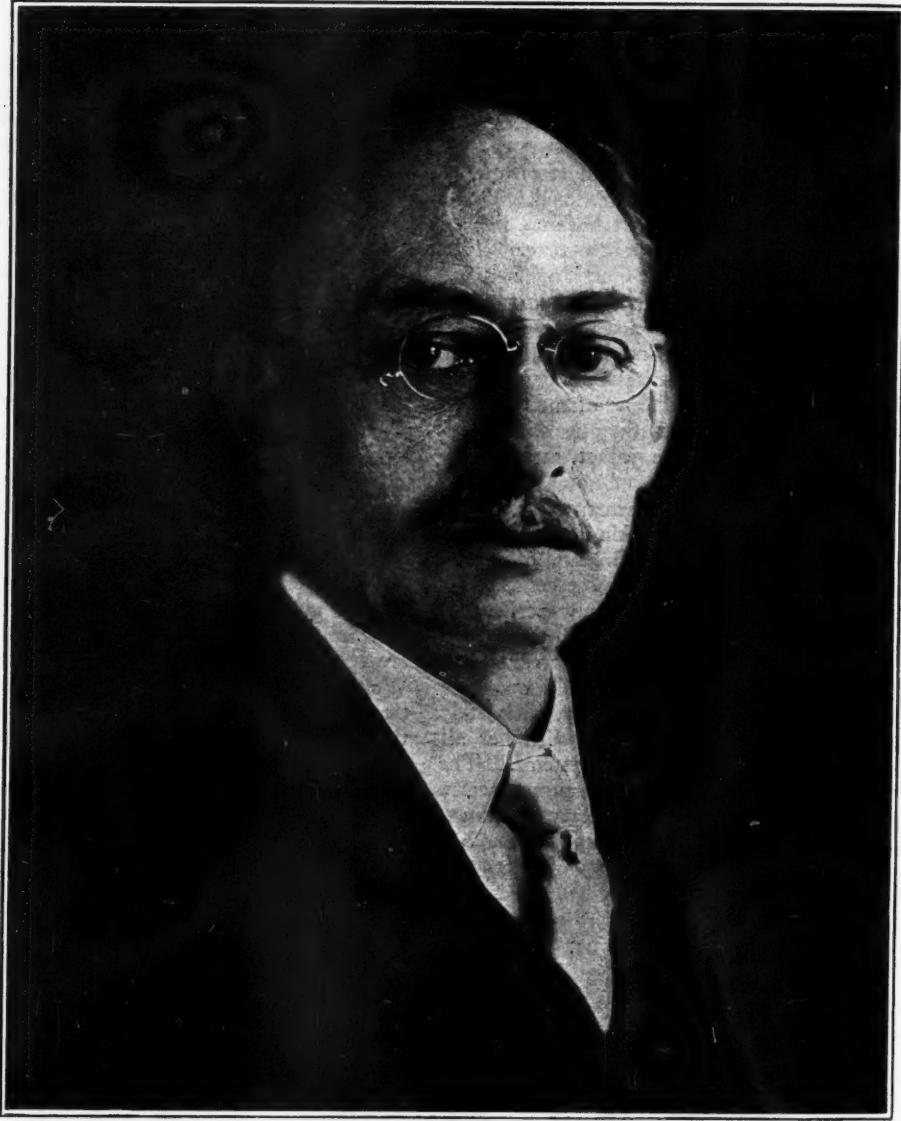
But the collapse of Germany has served to reveal new dangers. Almost a year ago conservative elements in Britain, of which Lord Lansdowne was the most conspicuous spokesman, perceived that a new peril, even greater for the things they cared about than the German, was arising, and, perceiving it, bade us make peace, lest the old order be utterly destroyed and Germany, ultimately sinking to defeat, drag down with her all existing governments and systems. The warning was repulsed with all proper scorn. It was an appeal to save property at the expense of principle and privilege at the cost of justice.

Yet the thing Lord Lansdowne saw remains. It is a visible fact within the vision of every intelligent statesman in Europe to-day. There is no longer any question in Europe of saving everything that existed before the war. It is now a problem of saving the best and avoiding the most obvious dangers inherent in the new principles which rule from the Urals to the Niemen and exercise a mighty influence to the east bank of the Rhine, which at the same time find disquieting echoes on the banks of the Seine and the Thames.

In the articles which I shall write for this magazine from Europe, henceforth, I shall seek to discuss both the political questions which form the basis of the negotiations at Versailles and the economic questions which are raised both by the Bolshevik and the Socialistic revolutions in Germany and the disorganization of the industrial life of the western and victorious countries. As I see it, Europe is already divided by a great contest between representative democracy in the West and extreme radical and even anarchistic socialism in the East, and the decision in this greater conflict may depend upon the success or failure of the Congress of Versailles, where representative democracy is undertaking to reorganize Europe, while saving it from the anarchy that is threatened even now.



BACK AGAIN
THE TRAVELER: "Und this is the very place I started from almost fifty years ago!"
From *The Times* (New York)



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THE LATE WALTER HINES PAGE, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

The death of Mr. Page occurred in North Carolina, December 22. This was the State of his birth, and he was an admirable representative of the strong and sturdy leaders who have come from the South Atlantic States. After a classical education in North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, he chose journalism as his profession, and in due time came to New York where, after several years of daily newspaper work, he succeeded Mr. Metcalf as editor and manager of the *Forum*. A few years later he became the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and subsequently a partner in the firm of Doubleday, Page & Co., and the editor of *The World's Work*. He was very influential in movements for the progress of southern education, and always a faithful and courageous friend of the negro race in all that made for its true welfare.

President Wilson, in 1913, appointed Mr. Page Ambassador to Great Britain to succeed the late Mr. Reid. Following a long line of eminent and brilliant predecessors at the Court of St. James's, he fully sustained the tradition. Though not so polished a dinner speaker as Choate, it may be said that Page was superior in characteristic American humor. The genuineness of his qualities and the soundness of his common-sense greatly endeared him to all classes of the British people. There is much testimony from England to the effect that no American Ambassador has ever been held there in warmer regard, while no other has been deemed more worthy in every sense of the position and its dignities. Mr. Page was born in 1855, and was therefore in his sixty-fourth year. He had resigned on account of ill health, due to wartime overstrain, and had returned to this country in October.—A. S.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, BOY AND MAN

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

THE death of Theodore Roosevelt has brought sorrow and the feeling of personal loss to millions who have never seen the man, and had never even read his writings. Roosevelt's vital personality had impressed itself upon his fellows to an extent for which there is no parallel in the relations with the community of any other American—I may say of any other leader—of his generation. The youngsters, with no understanding of the part played in great affairs by this man of energy, have thought of "Teddy" Roosevelt as one of themselves. The boys realized instinctively—what associates of our friend knew through their personal experiences—that, notwithstanding his three-score years of strenuous activities, Roosevelt had never lost his youth. In enjoyment of life, exuberance of feeling, absorption in the things of the moment and confident optimism, Theodore remained until the last a boy—a boy sometimes perhaps perverse and troublesome—but always possessing a charming magnetism which won the love of all who knew him.

It was more than fifty years ago that I first knew Theodore the boy. He was brought up in an attractive home circle. His father, Theodore the first, was one of the unselfish public-spirited citizens who did much for the welfare of New York and of his fellow men generally. It was to the initiation and unselfish coöperation of Theodore's father and uncle that the City owes the Roosevelt Hospital, and this is only one of the many obligations to the family.

The father represented, as we all know, the old Dutch stock of the city, which, however, as far as energy and active-mindedness was concerned, had become very much Americanized. Theodore's mother, a most charming and gentle-natured lady, came from an old Georgia family. Her brother, Commodore Bulloch, was in fact the director during the Civil War of the naval operations of the Confederacy in Europe.

Theodore the younger was, as a boy, ac-

tive-minded and enterprising. He was rather slight in physique, and later during his college years there was dread of tuberculosis. The doctors advised a long open-air experience, and in his junior year Theodore was sent out to Montana, where he took in experience as a cowboy and ranchman. He learned to ride and to shoot, and his riding and his shooting (the latter done under the difficulties of near-sightedness) were both of the first class.

Ranch Life in Montana

I remember a word given to me by the senior cowboy of Theodore's ranch, who accompanied his chief a year or two later to New York, in regard to Theodore's encounter with a grizzly. "The party came suddenly upon a bear which charged at Theodore. For once his trusty rifle snapped fire, and it looked as if he could not escape the bear's onset. A tree, with an over-hanging branch, happened to be within reach, and as the bear charged, Theodore jumped, lifted himself by one arm and swung clear over the back of the grizzly. A shot from one of the cowboys crippled the bear, which was then finished by Theodore's second rifle." The cowboy added, "Mr. Roosevelt lets old Ephraim [the ranch name for grizzly], get a good deal nearer than we should like."

The American boys have always been interested in reading of the pleasure taken by Theodore in sport and of his skill as a huntsman. Those who read the accounts of his hunting experiences understood that Roosevelt never killed for waste. He was a thorough student of nature, of birds and animals, and authorities on the science of nature, such as John Burroughs, tell us that Roosevelt's knowledge was precise and trustworthy. He could use in political utterances examples taken from his nature experience. Among these, I may recall his phrase of approval of the character and work of a political associate. "His career," said Theodore, "was as clean as a hound's tooth."

In the Publishing Business

After getting through with his college work, Theodore came to my office with the view of securing some business experience. He became a special partner, but his home was near to the office, and he found it convenient to place his desk next to mine and to carry on his correspondence and his other activities from the publishing headquarters.

He became promptly interested in publishing possibilities, and he showed me from week to week how the business ought to be run. His plans were, naturally for the most part, not practicable, but he took with full good-nature, the turning down of his suggestions. I found myself holding the young man in increasing regard, but there was difficulty in carrying on my correspondence with this exuberant and suggestive personality at my right hand. I was glad, therefore, to have the opportunity of suggesting to the Republican committee in the district that Roosevelt would make an excellent representative in the Assembly. He came into the office on one Monday in great delight, with the nomination in his hand.

"Haven," he said, "I am going into politics. I have always wanted to have a chance of taking hold of public affairs." He never knew how the suggestion had come up, but, of course, it was only a question of one month or another as to his getting hold of the political life in which he was so keenly interested.

In Politics at Twenty-four

It was, if I remember rightly, in his twenty-fourth year, that Theodore began his political life by service in the Assembly. He had already married a wife and was writing his first book—a book that still remains an authority. It was the "History of the Naval War of 1812."

The year 1882 was for him, therefore, fully occupied. As a rule, a new Assemblyman is not able—however ambitious and energetic—to get a hearing during his first term. Roosevelt, however, made himself felt at once. He worked with the Republican leader in general party matters, but he refused to be bound by party shackles in regard to municipal matters, or in regard to any individual bills on which he had his own opinion. By the sheer force of will, he was instrumental with the aid of a small group of other assemblymen of the better class—among others his friend and mine, Walter

Howe—even during this first term, in exposing the bad purpose of certain measures affecting the City of New York, and in defeating them. He succeeded also in convincing the leaders of the desirability of giving consideration, at least occasionally, to the just claims of the city. In every public service that he undertook, he made himself felt. His action was not always judicious, and sometimes had to be reversed, but there never could be question of his absolute belief in the value for the cause of such plan or suggestion as he was submitting.

In his self-centered absorption in his own conception of a public measure and of his own duty, he could be, and from time to time was, unjust to other people who failed to agree with him, or at least failed to give immediate assent. It was difficult for his impetuous nature to have patience with opposition or delays.

An Admirer of Andrew Jackson

I remember, during his first term in the White House, being with him at a small lunch party, including six or eight friends. The guest of the occasion was an old Confederate General of Tennessee, who had been brought in by Senator Bate of that State. Roosevelt always felt his obligations as a host, and he turned the conversation to matters connected with Tennessee. In connection with the preparation of his "Winning of the West," he had made a careful study of the history of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the temporary State of Franklin, and he knew the careers of the men who had been produced in that region. He spoke of the early frontiersmen, of President Polk and (this with special pleasure and emphasis) of General Jackson."

"Jackson," said Roosevelt, "was a man who believed in the powers of the executive. Devoted as he was to the service of the Republic and convinced of the integrity of his own purpose, he found it difficult to accept with patience opposition or delay. With full belief in the powers that had been given to the executive under the constitution and with his readiness to brush to one side obstacles that stood in the way of what he believed to be essential for the country, he was able to render great service to the state. He had no regard for red tape, and he was impatient with official restrictions, but he was a great leader. Of course he had his faults. He was inclined to assume that the man who did not agree with Jackson was either a

fool or a villain." At this point, Theodore caught the expression of my face, which I thought I had well under control. "Now, Haven," he said, turning across the table, "don't you chuckle. I know what you are thinking about." At this the whole table, including the host, broke into laughter.

Theodore had, of course, not a few of the traits that he was admiring in Jackson, but his real sweetness of nature saved him from arousing the antagonism that Jackson had frequently provoked.

Theodore's habit of holding his opinions as burning convictions hardly lessened as the years went on. As above pointed out, he never outgrew certain boyish characteristics, but as he grew older, he grew fairer-minded. He was more ready to admit he had made a mistake, or had committed an injustice, and in the latter case his frank word of admission easily brought about a full restoration of personal relations.

Attitude in the War

Shortly after the beginning of the present war, Theodore asked me to lunch with him at the Harvard Club. He knew that with certain of his political measures during the preceding years I had not found myself in accord. He knew also, however, from my own platform utterances and printed word, that in matters relating to the war, we were in full agreement. I had not seen him for a couple of years, but he came across the club room with both hands extended and with the words, "Haven, we are again thinking alike, and I am delighted."

We had always been on *tutoyer* terms with each other, and my response was naturally sympathetic and affectionate. During the years of this war, we had, therefore, worked together to do what was practicable, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to get the country into the war and to make clear to citizens throughout the land what was the duty of America in this great fight to protect civilization against barbarism.

Promoting Anglo-American Relations

One of the last of Theodore's public utterances represented a reversal of opinion.

I had gone to see him in the hospital a week or two before he was sent home, and he told me then that there was something he wanted to get before the public.

"When I was in the White House," he said, "I took the ground that while we ought always to maintain good relations with Great

Britain, it was really not possible to agree in advance that every issue that arose was to be adjusted by conference or by arbitration. I had thought of the possibility of a difference affecting the honor of the country, which we ought not to permit to get out of our own control. I have changed my mind, and I want you, Haven, to bring before the public my present conclusion in the matter. I hold that there are, and that there can be, no possible issues between England and America, or among the English-speaking peoples of the world, which ought not to be, and which cannot be, adjusted, in the most cases by conference and in any extreme difficulty by arbitration."

I expressed my satisfaction that Roosevelt had arrived at a conclusion that I had always held. I said that his opinion ought to be made known to his fellow citizens, and to our friends across the Atlantic. I added, "I will write you a letter which will give you an opportunity of presenting this conclusion." He dictated from his hospital bed a letter, in which he took the ground that we, "the English peoples of the United States and the British commonwealth, possess both ideals and interests in common. We can best do our duty, as members of the family of nations, in maintaining peace and justice throughout the world, by first rendering it impossible that the peace between ourselves can ever be broken. . . . I believe that the time has come when we should say that under no circumstances shall there ever be a resort to war between the United States and the British Empire, and that no question can ever arise between them that cannot be settled in judicial fashion, in some such manner as would be settled questions between States of our own Union."

Theodore Roosevelt's last public word was a word of service to his own country, to England, and to international relations.

It was the ambition of his life to do what might be practicable to render service to his fellowmen. His thought was national and international. He believed in ideas. He held that every man owed it to himself, to his country, and to his Maker to utilize the powers that had been given to him for the good of his fellow men. His life showed that he stood for the highest ideals, and that he faithfully did his best towards the realization of those ideals. His country and the world are poorer for his loss, but they are the richer for his life.

New York, January 11, 1919.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BY ALBERT SHAW

IN our entire history there has been no other public man about whom so much has been written during his lifetime as Theodore Roosevelt. Nor has there been any other whose own utterances, both written and spoken, have been so voluminous and of such great variety. He had been conspicuous in public life for more than thirty-seven years when he died on January 6, 1919, having attained the age of 60 on October 27, 1918.

Major George Haven Putnam tells our readers how the young Harvard graduate came back home to New York from college and entered politics, making the fight in his own ward for nomination to the lower branch of the legislature, known in New York as the Assembly. Taking all of our States into account, there were at that time thousands of men who were members of legislatures, and scores of thousands who had entered upon their experiences in the school of public life by running for county, city, and State offices. Nowhere else in the world have such opportunities been opened to young men of all ranks and classes for beginning a public career as our system of party organization and of local elective office has afforded to young Americans of several generations. It was into this situation, on equal terms and on his own merits and qualities, that Theodore Roosevelt projected himself in the fall of 1881. He was elected and took his seat in the legislature in January, 1882

A Leader to Whom Young Men Turned

The notable thing, to which I wish to call attention, was the fact that Mr. Roosevelt, in that earliest period of public life, caught the attention of young men, particularly those of school and college training, all over the country. Our cities were badly governed, and the spoils system held strong sway in national, state and local government. In New York the Civil Service Reform movement of that period was led by George William Curtis and Carl Schurz, with younger men like George Haven Putnam. Young Roosevelt promptly identified himself with all such movements.

In the legislature he took a leading posi-

tion, and so strenuously advocated certain reforms that his name was carried across the country as matter of ordinary public news, while it became at once a favored and familiar name in the circles of progress and reform from Boston to San Francisco. He wrote the Civil Service Law for New York State, and he secured investigations of New York City affairs which resulted in marked improvements. I well remember, as a young Western newspaper man at that time, writing editorials in support of Roosevelt's work and predicting for him a career that would provide the country with a leader about whom, at some future time, those of us in other States would be glad to rally.

Just now, at the time of his death, so many extended and intelligent reviews have been published in the newspapers, dealing with the successive stages of his public life, that I shall not in these pages attempt any connected account of the work Mr. Roosevelt performed as an office holder. The files of this magazine, for twenty-eight years past, contain so many articles about him—and so many inspired by him—that a very large volume could be compiled from this source alone, dealing with all phases of his life and public work, and illustrated with several hundreds of portraits, scenes, and illustrations. So central a figure in our American life had Mr. Roosevelt been through this long period, that a periodical devoted mainly to accounts and interpretations of public affairs and general progress could not have failed to give him more space and attention than was required by the activities of any other man.

In the Blaine Campaign of 1884

Many of us who belong to Mr. Roosevelt's generation, and who, like him, began while very young to take a keen interest in public affairs, whether as partisans and officeholders, or as editors or public-spirited citizens, are likely at times to forget that the great majority of those who are active on the stage to-day do not remember the great Blaine-Cleveland contest of 1884. These younger men remember very well the prominence of Roosevelt in the political conventions of 1912

and 1916; and the impression he made upon them in these recent periods of political storm was that of a very young and virile man, and not at all that of one of the elder statesmen. He was still regarded as having something of the fine rashness of untamed youth. He had in these later days all the appearance and manner of a man whose physical power was at its height, and whose mentality had lost nothing of its untiring vigor and its assertive boldness. Yet this same Theodore Roosevelt was the Chairman of the great New York delegation in the National Republican Convention of 1884, when he was only twenty-five years old!

Mr. Roosevelt was a supporter of the candidacy of Senator Edmunds and was opposed to that of James G. Blaine. Many of his friends, including most of the civil-service-reform leaders, declined to support Blaine, and later in the campaign became supporters of Grover Cleveland, who was the Democratic candidate.

Mr. Roosevelt's Theory of Partisanship

It was believed that Mr. Roosevelt would follow the course taken by Curtis, Schurz, and others. He had already formed the habit of going out into the far Northwest for his summer vacations, among the cowboys and hunters, and had acquired an interest in the cattle business on the Little Missouri River near the line between Montana and North Dakota. He hastened there after the Convention of 1884, studied the situation carefully, and decided that his proper place lay within the Republican party. He expressed this view in a notable statement which is worth quoting now because it throws some light upon his course of action in several subsequent periods of his political life. He said in that statement of 1884:

I intend to vote the Republican Presidential ticket. A man cannot act both without and within the party; he can do either, but he cannot possibly do both. Each course has its advantages, and each has its disadvantages, and one cannot take the advantages or the disadvantages separately. I went in with my eyes open to do what I could within the party; I did my best and got beaten, and I propose to stand by the result. It is impossible to combine the functions of a guerilla chief with those of a colonel in the regular army; one has greater independence of action, the other is able to make what action he does take vastly more effective. In certain contingencies, the one can do the most good; in certain contingencies, the other; but there is no use in accepting a commission and then trying to play the game out on a lone hand. During the entire canvass for the nomination Mr. Blaine re-

ceived but two checks. I had a hand in both, and I could have had a hand in neither had not those Republicans who elected me the head of the New York State delegation supposed that I would in good faith support the man who was fairly made the Republican nominee. I am, by inheritance and by education, a Republican; whatever good I have been able to accomplish in public life has been accomplished through the Republican party; I have acted with it in the past, and wish to act with it in the future.

While Grover Cleveland was the Democratic Governor of New York and Theodore Roosevelt a member of the Republican Legislature, the two men had worked together for state and municipal reforms and were good friends; but as a Republican Mr. Roosevelt voted against Cleveland and voted for Blaine. Meanwhile, for a brief period of years, he gave himself very largely to his far western life and to historical study and writing. As Mr. Putnam tells us, his first book, on the naval war of 1812, has always been a standard contribution. Meanwhile he was making research for his "Winning of the West," a very fascinating and valuable study of movements and developments during and following the American Revolution. In 1886 he was the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York in a three-cornered fight, the other candidates being Henry George and Abram Hewitt.

As Civil Service Commissioner

Mr. Roosevelt cordially supported in 1888 the winning Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, against Grover Cleveland, and would have liked the position of Assistant Secretary of State; but Mr. Blaine was made Secretary of State and remembered Mr. Roosevelt's attitude in 1884. President Harrison had other and less agreeable work for Roosevelt, and made him Chairman of the Civil Service Commission at Washington. A new Republican administration, following a Democratic régime, naturally encountered a terrible demand for the rewards of office. It was Roosevelt's business to uphold the standards of fitness and to enforce the unpopular law which required competitive examinations for the classified clerkships and other jobs. He held this hard position through Harrison's four years and continued through half of Mr. Cleveland's second administration.

It was this six-year period at Washington as Civil Service Commissioner that gave Mr. Roosevelt (who maintained his habit of study and investigation) such a practical knowl-

edge of the methods and work of the various departments of the Government, while also obtaining a theoretical and general knowledge of public affairs. It was not a pleasant office that he filled, but it was a remarkable training that he acquired for his subsequent life in Washington as head of the Government. In the Civil Service job he developed a knowledge of men and human nature, and came to understand the sources of political action, and the machinery of parties.

Police Commissioner of New York City

It was from this Washington position that he was called to be Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City when Mayor Strong came in with his reform administration as a result of the election of 1894. His work in that office again brought out his personal qualities of courage and quick decision. He was told repeatedly that he was ruining his political future by enforcing the Sunday-closing law and by fighting for tenement-house reform, but he held his ground through storms of controversy, and New York has always been better for what he accomplished in that position.

In the election of 1896 he took a very active part against Mr. Bryan and in favor of Mr. McKinley, and made his first stumping tour. He was not naturally a good public speaker, but in the course of this tour, through sheer earnestness, sincerity, and energy, he won his audiences and acquired his reputation—always afterward sustained—of being a very effective campaign speaker. Here again it is worth while for young men to remember that Roosevelt's success was due to his having the courage of his convictions and to a vigor of personality that was the reward of his athletic training, out-of-door exercise, and unsparing use of all his energies and opportunities.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

As Mr. McKinley entered upon the Presidency in March, 1897, the Cuban Revolution had been going on for two years and we were becoming increasingly involved in the situation. Mr. Roosevelt believed that we should be getting ready to intervene. He saw that intervention would in the first instance be principally naval. He was ready to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy, with a view to taking the active part in stimulating naval preparedness. New York State's political leadership was unfavorable to Roosevelt, but at length the opposition

was withdrawn and within a few weeks he became Assistant Secretary.

The "Rough Riders" and the New York Governorship

It is an old story how he encouraged the Navy to improve its marksmanship, how he selected Dewey for the command in the Pacific, and how valuably he assisted President McKinley and Secretary Long by his executive work. Nor will I attempt to recount the story of his stepping out of his safe office in Washington to organize the regiment of Rough Riders with his friend Leonard Wood. He was not acting under the impulse of ambition, but from the standpoint of duty. His western life, as well as his eastern, had given him the kind of acquaintance which made it easy to form the famous regiment.

His return from Cuba, at a moment of political exigency, made him the one available candidate for the Republican nomination as Governor. He was elected, and entered upon his work with that same enthusiasm for the useful possibilities of the job that he had always shown in every other sphere of public or private life.

Attainment of the Presidency

And thus he had reached a position in American politics which had definitely placed him in the limited group of men who were considered as "Presidential Timber." If Vice-President Hobart, who was elected with Mr. McKinley in 1896, had lived, he would, of course, have been renominated with McKinley in 1900. But Hobart's death left a vacancy, and the demand for Roosevelt as a popular figure who would contribute to Republican success in the election proved to be irresistible. There had come some political reaction after the Spanish War and the troubles following the acquisition of the Philippines; and the Republicans insisted upon having McKinley supported in the strongest possible way.

The death of McKinley soon after his second inauguration brought the Vice-President into the White House. We are publishing (see page 162) selections from an article written for this REVIEW in 1904, which set forth the qualities and achievements of Roosevelt as a President in his first term, and justified his nomination for the second period that ended with the fourth of March, 1909. The article was written by a man eminently qualified to discuss the

situation, and it would be hard to secure at this day any characterization of Roosevelt's work in the middle of his presidential career that would be so illuminating.

An Open-Minded Executive

These remarks are meant to relate to Mr. Roosevelt himself, rather than to the course of recent American history. It happened to be my good fortune to have become acquainted with him while he was Civil Service Commissioner, and to have known him well through most of his subsequent career. Perhaps the thing that will be best remembered by those who knew him was his open-mindedness, his desire to do the wise and the right thing in a practical way for the sake of results, and his capacity for swift decision in the performance of public work.

Contrary to the impression in some quarters, although he was a very strong executive, upholding every prerogative of the presidential office at all times, he got on with both houses of Congress exceedingly well, consulting constantly with Senators and Representatives, and giving the members of a coördinate branch of the Government prompt preference always at the White House as against any other class of callers. With the members of his Cabinet he was on terms of close and frank friendship, and he relied constantly upon the advice of his official family, always appreciating their wisdom and help.

As illustrating this point, I think I am justified in remarking that on many occasions President Roosevelt said to me in private conversation that he regarded Mr. Root and Mr. Taft as statesmen having the wisdom and scope of the distinguished men of our earlier period, like Hamilton, Jay, Marshall, Madison, and Jefferson; and that he considered that much of the success of his Administration was due to these men whom he was fond of describing as abler and wiser in many ways than he was himself. His trust policy in practical forms was shaped by Mr. Knox, his Attorney General. He had an intensely loyal belief in the younger members of his Administration like Mr. James R. Garfield; and his regard for men who had been close to him for long periods, like Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Loeb, was that of unwavering trust and affection.

With his great sense of humor, and his knowledge of human frailties, he could never hold a grudge against any man, nor wish anyone ill fortune. He was a hard fighter

in politics, but his hand was always ready for the clasp of men with whom at some time he had differed. His influence throughout the nation came more and more to be that of the leader looking towards better times and new eras in which the large faults of his own generation would find remedy. Thus he realized the magnificence of our railroad and industrial development; but he saw that the public interest must prevail over the tendency towards private enrichment. He lived to recognize a wholly new spirit in corporation management, and to welcome many steps of progress towards better social conditions.

A Born Naturalist

One of the reasons why he accomplished so much as a public man was because he maintained the fearlessness that belonged to his early youth. This fearlessness, as his career matured, was in some part due to the fact of his great versatility. He liked always to remark that private life had no terrors for him. He could afford to commit political suicide as often as he pleased, because being out of office gave him a chance to do so many other things. The extent and quality of his scholarship is a topic that would require too much space for discussion here. Undoubtedly he was a great naturalist. His knowledge of birds and animals had begun with early boyhood and had increased throughout life. He was very happy in association with naturalists. It was as a man fond of "out-of-doors," and as a student of animal life, rather than as one who loved the excitement of shooting game, that he pursued his early life in the West and wrote his books on hunting; and it was in the same spirit that after he left the Presidency he went to Africa on his famous hunting trip.

His fondness for all men who had these common interests with him was generally recognized. Thus, as he was starting for Africa in 1909, it was upon his designation that Mr. Edward Clark, a Washington correspondent, wrote for this magazine an account of the plans of the expedition. Mr. Clark was also a naturalist, especially devoted to the study of birds, and this had brought him close to the President. Only a few weeks ago I was with Mr. Clark—who is now Major Clark, attached to American Military Headquarters in France—and he was constantly talking about Roosevelt's interest in natural history, and was identifying one bird after another as our automo-

bile moved across military areas, until he was suddenly halted by an air fight just over our heads. This bond that unites nature lovers is to be remembered as having borne a very great part in Colonel Roosevelt's life from his youth to the very end. When in England, after the year he spent in Africa, he and the British Foreign Minister (Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey) slipped away from officialdom to spend the day in the New Forest among the birds; for Lord Grey is himself a great naturalist. Mr. Stefánsson, on another page of this issue, writes admirably of Mr. Roosevelt's interest in exploration and science.

Versatility in Many Lines

Mr. Roosevelt had always been a reader of history as well as of general literature, and his memory was one of the most remarkable of his entire generation. He told me after coming back from the visit among royalties that he found his memory of the facts of Prussian and Hohenzollern history more complete and accurate than that of the Kaiser, with whom he had spent some long hours in the palaces and among the memorials of Frederick the Great. The Hungarian nobles were amazed at his accurate knowledge of Mongolian migrations and early Hungarian history.

Professor Rhys, of Oxford (afterwards knighted as Rt. Hon. Sir John Rhys), unquestionably the greatest authority on Celtic literature, visited this country while Mr. Roosevelt was President and had a long talk at the White House. He told me afterwards that while he might be a poor judge of a man's erudition in other fields, he could not be mistaken in his own field; and he declared that President Roosevelt had the most remarkable knowledge of Celtic literary and historical backgrounds of any man with whom he had ever conversed. About this matter I have no knowledge or opinion of

my own, and I am merely quoting the one man who knew best.

Mr. Roosevelt was fond of saying to his friends that he was only an average man who had made the best use he could of such faculties as were given to him. He had built up physical vigor from frail and delicate beginnings. He had made himself a place among scientists and scholars, and among historical students and writers, through adding industry to natural interest. He had been willing to select the things to which to give his time and strength; and, having inherited a modest fortune, he did not choose money-making as one of his life occupations. Thus he was able to devote himself to the pursuits of a lover of nature, and to the occupations of a man of letters, while above all things offering his time and strength in the sphere of public service.

He felt that *citizens' duty* is a thing to be faced by each American; and that being an active and useful citizen was a very large part of the obligation that should rest upon every man who has the good fortune to owe allegiance to this country. What we had received as a heritage from our fathers, he declared, should be protected and should be transmitted with as much improvement as possible to those coming after us. He always recognized the fact that he did not stand alone in this sense of civic duty; and no one was more eager than he to recognize the value of the work of others all about him who, at one task or another, were striving for justice and human betterment. Thus he felt himself to be typical rather than exceptional. But his individual qualities were so extraordinary, his personality was so fascinating, that he will stand out on the pages of history as a great figure, just as in his own day he had achieved a reputation, not only throughout this land but in every other country, that justly elevated him to heights of fame.



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ROOSEVELT'S TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

[In 1909 the centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was observed. On the first day of that year President Roosevelt addressed from the White House to the editor of this magazine a characteristic letter in which he commented on the famous Bixby letter of the Martyr President. It was published in our February number, a few days before the celebration of Lincoln Day. President Roosevelt was then greatly interested in spelling reform, and in this brief communication there were at least two instances of the modernized orthography—"thru" and "possest." We reprint the letter just as it appeared ten years ago.—THE EDITOR]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, January 1, 1909.

To the Editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS:

THE deeds and words of the great men of the nation, and above all the character of each of the foremost men of the nation, are one and all assets of inestimable value to the Republic. Lincoln's work and Lincoln's words should be, and I think more and more are, part of those formative influences which tend to become living forces for good citizenship among our people. There is one of his letters which has always appealed to me particularly. It is the one running as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1864.

To MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Mass.
DEAR MADAM:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
A. LINCOLN.

Any man who has occupied the office of President realizes the incredible amount of administrative work with which the President has to deal even in time of peace. He is of necessity a very busy man, a much driven man, from whose mind there can never be absent for many minutes at a time the consideration of some problem of importance, or of some matter of less importance which

yet causes worry and strain. Under such circumstances, it is not easy for a President even in times of peace to turn from the affairs that are of moment to all the people and consider affairs that are of moment to but one person.

While this is true of times of peace, it is, of course, infinitely more true of times of war. No President who has ever sat in the White House has borne the burden that Lincoln bore, or been under the ceaseless strain which he endured. It did not let up by day or by night. Ever he had to consider problems of the widest importance; ever to run risks of greatest magnitude; and ever thru and across his plans to meet these great dangers and responsibilities was shot the woof of an infinite number of small worries and small annoyances. He worked out his great task while unceasingly beset by the need of attending as best he could to a multitude of small tasks.

It is a touching thing that the great leader, while thus driven and absorbed, could yet so often turn aside for the moment to do some deed of personal kindness; and it is a fortunate thing for the nation that in addition to doing so well each deed, great or small, he possest that marvelous gift of expression which enabled him quite unconsciously to choose the very words best fit to commemorate each deed. His Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural are two of the half-dozen greatest speeches ever made—I am tempted to call them the two greatest ever made. They are great in their wisdom, and dignity, and earnestness, and in a loftiness of thought and expression which makes them akin to the utterances of the prophets of the Old Testament.

In a totally different way, but in strongest and most human fashion, such utterances as

his answer to the serenaders immediately after his second election, and his letter which I have quoted above, appeal to us and make our hearts thrill. The mother of whom he wrote stood in one sense on a loftier plane of patriotism than the mighty President himself. Her memory, and the memory of her sons whom she bore for the Union, should

be kept green in our minds; for she and they, in life and death, typified all that is best and highest in our national existence. The deed itself, and the words of the great man which commemorate that deed, should form one of those heritages for all Americans which it is of inestimable consequence that America should possess. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ROOSEVELT AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

IN the summer of 1904, after he had occupied the White House for nearly three years, filling the unexpired term of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency by the National Republican Convention. In the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for July of that year a delegate to that convention set forth with remarkable distinctness and political acumen the facts in Roosevelt's record up to that time which had made his nomination and election seem equally inevitable. In the opening paragraph of his article this writer said:

There has been no time, for nearly two years past, when it was not certain that Theodore Roosevelt would be nominated for the Presidency by the Republican Party with actual or substantial unanimity. The party at large made up its mind to bring that result about before Mr. Roosevelt had been a full year in the White House. From that time to the present, the party organizers and machine leaders have been as chips borne by a swiftly flowing current. Whatever other plans they may have had were quickly abandoned, and with more or less heartiness they have accepted the inevitable.

A Candidacy Almost Unopposed

The writer proceeds to show that the futile efforts to thwart this course of events that had originated and come to a head within a few months preceding the Chicago Convention had been mainly sponsored by certain interests not primarily political. Before the convention assembled this opposition had become negligible. The article continues:

So it happens that Theodore Roosevelt faces the next Presidential election with his own party enthusiastically behind him and the opposition hopeless of his defeat, and, on the whole, not very anxious for it. It is a rather remarkable situation. The explanation, however, is simple. It is the conquest of American public opinion by a strong, perhaps a great, personality, honest, fearless, sympathetic and just. Readers of American history will find an instructive paral-

lel if they will study carefully the events leading up to the reëlection of Andrew Jackson and to that of Abraham Lincoln.

No Issue but Roosevelt

After reviewing the feeble attempts of the Democrats in New York State and elsewhere to frame an "issue" for the campaign of 1904, this writer finds them all hollow and meaningless, and declares that genuine political issues were at that time altogether lacking. This being the situation, what, he asks, is the Presidential election of 1904 to be about? He answers his own question in these words:

It is to be about Theodore Roosevelt and nothing else. The voting population has but one question to answer this year, and that question is, Do you want Theodore Roosevelt as President for four years more? The Democratic candidate may be Cleveland, or McClellan, or Francis, or Harmon, or Parker, but this one question states the issue.

The result, as the returns from Oregon already foretell, will be what a friend has recently described as "a prairie fire for Roosevelt." Why?

Because, of all the public men in the United States, Theodore Roosevelt is absolutely the best fitted to meet the problems and fulfill the duties of the Chief Executive for four years from March 4, 1905. He has proved this abundantly, and the American people know it.

The Presidency is, without exception, the most difficult office in the world. It knows neither privacy nor rest. It demands physical and mental health, wide information, quick and accurate judgment, alertness and versatility of mind, buoyancy of spirit and good temper. Mr. Roosevelt has all of these qualities in high degree, and in addition he has a reasonable, if not an excessive, amount of patience. The elemental virtues no one denies to him.

Echoes of the Coal Strike

It seemed probable that during the next Presidential term the pressing problems would be administrative, economic and social. No man in public life at that time was bet-



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1904

ter equipped to deal with such problems than Mr. Roosevelt. A capital illustration of his willingness and ability to make the cause of the people his own, had been afforded only two years before by his action in the anthracite coal strike. This is clearly brought out in the article from which we are quoting:

There is a conviction throughout the country that the interests of the plain people, who ask nothing of the Government but ample protection in their right to earn an honest living in their own way, are looked after by Mr. Roosevelt, and that he does not forget them when under pressure from the political and personal representatives of privilege-hunters of all kinds. Different as Mr. Roosevelt is in so many ways from Lincoln and from McKinley, he is like those two great men in his intuitive insight into the mind of the plain people. Mr. Roosevelt's scholarship has not blunted his human sympathy, and he has no

subtlety of mind behind which to hide his natural simplicity and directness.

Mr. Roosevelt's record of positive achievement is astonishing, and the people recognize it. They held their breath when he summoned to his presence the warring coal magnates and labor magnates, whose selfish fighting had brought great communities to the verge of want and had prepared a series of social and political explosions that a chance spark would set off. He told these public enemies that, under the Constitution and the laws, he could not act officially toward them, but that armed with his moral responsibility as trustee for the public at large, he had a right to insist that they must not goad innocent people to madness by depriving them of a necessity of life, but must go ahead and mine coal and submit their differences to an impartial, if unofficial, tribunal. They both grumbled, but they both yielded. That event marked a turning point in our history, and we owe it to Mr. Roosevelt's courage and unselfishness. It was a great, and in one sense an unnecessary, risk for him to take. But he took it, accomplished his end, and demonstrated the fact that the moral rights of the whole people are not forever to be held in abeyance while organized capital and organized labor go through one of their periodical rows, causing widespread loss, damage, and suffering, of which fact both parties to the quarrel appear to be utterly oblivious. Those persons who are fond of contrasting President Cleveland's action in reference to the Chicago strike and riots of 1894 with President Roosevelt's action in reference to the coal strikes and riots of 1902, might like to know what Mr. Cleveland thought of Mr. Roosevelt's action and what he said to him about it.

Achievement of Panama

President Roosevelt's initiative in connection with the Panama Canal is strongly commended by this writer, who has only words of praise for his management:

Mr. Roosevelt cut the Gordian knot that made the early building of an Isthmian canal seem impossible. He acted, as fair-minded people generally assumed, and as the long debate in the Senate conclusively proved, after long deliberation, in strict accordance with the precepts of international law and our treaty obligations to Colombia, and in such a way as to command the

prompt approval and hearty acquiescence of the nations of the world. In a way, this is Mr. Roosevelt's greatest achievement. His promptness in executing his plan, and his decision, avoided foreign complications, and prevented a long guerrilla war, costly in life and in money. He named an ideal commission to build the Panama Canal, and the United States has now a chance to prove that a democracy can undertake a great public work, hundreds of miles away from home, with celerity and skill and without scandal. We owe all this to Mr. Roosevelt.

Answer to Critics

The writer repels the charge that, as President, Mr. Roosevelt was a reckless violator of his Constitutional limitations and invaded the rights and privileges of Congress. He turns on the President's critics with these robust paragraphs:

The people are undisguisedly delighted that the President asserts himself and his office, and that he is not supinely yielding to that legislative invasion of Presidential prerogative which has gone on, with but little interruption, since Andrew Jackson's time. The people want a real President, not a dummy, and they know that in Theodore Roosevelt they have a real President. That Mr. Roosevelt has not interfered with the legitimate prerogatives of Congress is not only made evident by the records, but is supported by the expert opinion of Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, who has openly said that during his long career in the Senate he has never known a President who has attempted so little as Mr. Roosevelt to influence Congressional action by other means than his public messages.

Another favorite theme of Mr. Roosevelt's critics is his bellicose nature. They fear that he will wilfully or unwillingly plunge the nation into a foreign war. These persons mistake virility for braggadocio and vitality for bluster. The people at large make no such mistake. They see in Mr. Roosevelt the President who has done more than any of his predecessors for the principle of international arbitration and the preservation of the world's peace. He put aside the proffered honor of arbitrating the Venezuela dispute in order to send it to the Hague tribunal, and he sent the so-called Pious Fund case with Mexico to the same court. He caused the long-standing dispute with Great Britain over the Alaska boundary to be submitted to an international commission, who settled it promptly and for all time. All the world recognizes the beneficence of Mr. Roosevelt's policy toward China, so

skillfully executed by Mr. Hay and Mr. Root, and applauds it as just, humane and peace-loving.

It is about time, then, that these critics left off generalizing and furnished the country with a bill of particulars. When have we had so much of the country's best brains and conscience actively participating in its government? Where do the opposition propose to find substitutes for Hay and Root, Taft and Knox, Moody and Wilson? When have the Civil Service laws been so rapidly extended and so justly executed? When have the major offices, especially in the Southern States, been filled by men of such capacity and standing? The people must have satisfactory answers to these questions before they refuse to return to power such an administration as the present one.

But, we are told, Mr. Roosevelt has done fairly well only because of his pledge given at Buffalo to carry out the policies of McKinley. Once elect him President, and he will break loose from all trammels and do the most terrifying things.

If Theodore Roosevelt is really unsafe, vain, domineering, and reckless, should he not have come to grief by this time? He has held responsible executive office for a good many years. These alleged traits cannot be new. They must have been forming ever since he left the New York Legislature in 1884. Where in Mr. Roosevelt's career are the evidences of their existence? How are his many and astonishingly important successes, all in the public's highest interest, to be accounted for? The man's life for twenty years past is an absolutely open book, and it tells a story that stirs every patriotic American heart. It is marked by a consuming passion to be useful and to be just. In office and out of office, in public life and in private station, in war and in peace, it is all the same story. Mr. Roosevelt's character is fully formed. It has been formed for the most part in the public eye. He has reached middle life, and cannot now reverse himself, even if he would. The ideal, happily, still moves Americans, both young and old, and Mr. Roosevelt voices the best American ideals and acts in accordance with them. To the pessimist and carper, he opposes his faith and his courage; to the fault-finder, his power of accomplishment; to the self-seeker and the grafted, his honesty; to the mourner over our country's ruin, his belief in American manhood and in American principles.

It is said that the leaders of the opposition are to make their campaign on Mr. Roosevelt's personality. His friends can ask no better fortune. Since Lincoln, no such powerful personality has come into our politics, and to attack it is only to emphasize its attractiveness. As a Presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt can well afford to dispense with ordinary methods, and leave his case with the American people.



COLONEL ROOSEVELT AS EXPLORER

BY VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON

(President of the Explorers' Club of New York)

SEVERAL years ago I was impressed with the accurate and unusual knowledge of the problems of Arctic exploration shown by an editorial in the *New York Outlook*. I called the *Outlook* on the telephone, thinking to compliment the writer on his exceptional grasp of a little-known subject, but decided not to intrude my praise on a too-busy man, when another editor told me the article had been written by Colonel Roosevelt, then a member of their staff. It was some years before I found I had been wrong in imagining Colonel Roosevelt too busy for seeing or talking with me and that he delighted in meeting any man, no matter how obscure, who had special knowledge of any field of investigation.

As I saw him both personally and in his writings, Colonel Roosevelt was the most explorer-minded man I have known. He was in continual quest of the unknown and the little-known in literature, in art, and in science. Many know more instances to corroborate this than I do, but I happened to be living in the same boarding-house with Edwin Arlington Robinson when he needed encouragement in the writing of beautiful poems and got that encouragement from President Roosevelt; and at the American Museum of Natural History I was associated with Carl Akeley, who was merely a taxidermist, although the world's greatest taxidermist, until the encouragement of the ex-President made him try his hand at the bronzes which have made him the first of American animal sculptors. Of his encouragement of inconspicuous explorers I know much from personal knowledge, though it is less proper to discuss that here.

It is to be supposed, seeing Colonel Roosevelt was human, that there must have been some fields in which he was ill-informed, but none of these came to my attention nor, so far as I know, to the attention of any of my friends in the various spheres of scientific exploration. Many would say that Frank

Chapman, curator of birds at the American Museum, is the greatest authority on birds in America, yet when I asked him what he thought of Colonel Roosevelt as an ornithologist, Chapman replied: "The Colonel knows more about birds than I do." And similar things I have frequently heard said about him by specialists in other departments.

An Explorer Even in Literature

As an explorer in literature Colonel Roosevelt did not confine himself to the finding of new authors of to-day; he examined also the literatures of distant times and obscure peoples. He was not content, as most of us are, with a knowledge of the authors and literatures commended to us by the professional formulators of our literary tastes. An example of this is what some may think his extravagant admiration of the sagas and other Old Norse literature. Most other statesmen and politicians of his time would have supposed vaguely that a saga was some sort of myth that had to do with fighting; but Colonel Roosevelt had volume after volume of sagas on his shelves and told me that they were the only classic literature that he enjoyed reading as he might enjoy a novel of to-day. He placed the Old Norse literature next after the Greek and Roman in excellence, though he admitted enjoying it more than either of the others. Some, even of those entitled to an opinion through study of the literatures in question, may differ with his judgment violently. But Colonel Roosevelt seldom stood long alone, though he was often a leader, and many whose names have weight in literature and criticism hold a similar opinion. Lord Bryce, for instance, has said in a recently published essay, that he considers the Old Norse literature superior to the Roman, though inferior to the Greek.

There is abroad in our time a feeling that if a man is distinguished in one thing he has no right to be distinguished in anything else. In science, especially among the hack workers

and those who make from science a salaried livelihood, this feeling takes on much the aspect of trade-unionism. It was from men of this class that one frequently heard slurs to the effect Colonel Roosevelt was a politician and not a scientist, and that he ought to stick to his last. But I for one have never heard such remarks from the leaders in any department of science, and I take it that my experience is typical.

An Authority in Many Fields

The truth, acknowledged by all who knew him, is that with an indelible memory and an interest in every field of knowledge he combined a sanity of judgment that quickly made him master of any development that was truthfully reported to him. And seeing that not even a specialist can personally test every alleged fact, but must rely in most instances on the good faith of other investigators, it came about that Colonel Roosevelt, with his catholic interests and unique memory, became a specialist in many things in the same way that men of ordinary gifts become specialists in one thing, and with a liability of being in error not greater than theirs. Just as I have heard ichthyologists and ornithologists and mammalogists comment on the range of his exact knowledge and the soundness of his judgment, so can I say that in the field of exploration and in the one or two other departments that are peculiarly mine through study or through the accidents of birth and environment I have known no better informed authority or discerning critic than Colonel Roosevelt.

His Work in South America

Apart from the political and other personal motives of deliberate detractors, what disparagement there was of Colonel Roosevelt's geographic explorations in South America came from the labor-union-minded explorers and geographers who saw him as an outsider because he had not served a protracted apprenticeship to their craft. But those who looked merely for competence and truthfulness gave his notable achievements due recognition from the start.

Colonel Roosevelt's detractors came the nearest they ever did to achieving a partial victory when they adopted the method which Herbert Spencer has defined as an elaborate misquotation of what has been said and a detailed disproval of the statements as mis-

quoted. The way in which this method was used at the time of his return from South America was asserting that he had claimed to have discovered the "River of Doubt," and then showing that the existence of that river had been known before he went south. But never in speech and never in writing did Colonel Roosevelt say he had discovered that river, but merely that he had explored it, which is a quite different matter. Had its existence been unknown it would obviously have had no name, and that it was called the River of Doubt implied that it was known to exist, but that no one could say beyond a guess through just what territories it flowed or by what courses. This question the expedition of Roosevelt and Rondon settled with finality by a good astronomically checked instrumental survey that has been adopted on the charts of the Brazilian Government and that is likely to be subject to no more future corrections than are generally those first surveys of great rivers that are made by competent explorers.

Colonel Roosevelt's estimate of the importance of his own geographic work was whimsically expressed in a letter I received from him shortly before his death—a letter generously devoted to the praise of others and especially to that of Colonel Rondon. "I do not make any claim," he wrote, "to the front rank among explorers, which includes" . . . [Here he named several of the best-known explorers, among them Colonel Rondon], "but I do think I can reasonably maintain that, compared with other presidents, princes and prime ministers, I have done an unusual amount of useful work."

Colonel Roosevelt's geographic work in South America was of lasting importance, and his name printed indelibly on the map of that continent is not the least, though it is not the greatest, of the imperishable memorials he has left to us. But in geographic exploration, as in many other fields, his influence was far beyond his achievements and direct word of encouragement. No matter what your field, his enthusiasm for good work of any sort was contagious. Those who were infected with it by him became in turn centers of infection for others. Many a man has been twice the man he would have been because he had Roosevelt to admire and had Roosevelt's indomitable moral courage to teach him to look upon each defeat but as a deferred victory.



THE CATHEDRAL AT ALBERT—AFTER THE GERMAN EVACUATION

FRENCH RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

BY HENRI-MARTIN BARZUN

(Formerly Secretary to the French Minister of Labor)

THE first act of Prime Minister Clemenceau, on coming into office on November 7, 1917, was to create a new ministry, that of the Liberated Regions.

One could see in that act the whole spirit of daring which was known to be characteristic of the President of the Council. There was even in his act a certain defiance cast in the face of destiny, for November, 1917, marked the beginning of the final crisis of the war, which was to attain its maximum a few months later in the gigantic German offensives of March and May, 1918.

To speak of liberated regions when the enemy was sure to advance still farther and come to put Paris under the fire of his cannon, was, at that time, nothing more than a revelation of the feeling of absolute confidence in the final result which animated Georges Clemenceau at the very moment when the opinion of the world might perhaps very well remain in doubt.

The task of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions began the very day of its creation, and continued despite the fluctuations of military effort. The new administrative department had to form a plan of general action,

and did so by separating the difficulties of reconstruction into four responsible sections.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The first section studied the conditions of repatriation of the population evacuated to the rear or scattered over the territory as a result of hostile occupation. This section also assumed, in addition, the distribution of food and clothing, the resumption of municipal life, the reestablishment of the work of the schools, and, at the same time, took charge of estimating the ravages and losses of the war in the regions thus reoccupied.

The second section took care of all questions concerning the housing of the people who returned to find their houses destroyed. The building of temporary barracks on the very site of the destroyed dwellings was intended to permit the sufferers to await the realization of the definitive program of reconstruction of buildings.

For the repair of houses and properties which were merely damaged, building materials were to be provided for the inhabitants.

Finally, the second section looked after the

reestablishment of the material conditions of labor in the communes, this task being preceded by the leveling of the terrain, the cleaning of highways, and the suppression of all traces of military defense which might still exist.

Essential and general conditions being thus rendered satisfactory, a return to economic life became possible.

The third section prepared the ways and means of agricultural reconstruction by furnishing all the things that contribute to it: raw material, farm implements and machinery, poultry and stock, manure and seed, shrubbery and plants, means of transportation, etc.

The coordinate action of the three first sections could thus assure, in proportion as the territory was evacuated by the invader, methodical reestablishment of the life of the rural population, which chiefly inhabited the devastated regions.

As for the fourth and last section, it was specially charged with the reorganization of industrial cities, and was subdivided into numerous committees, corresponding to all the industries involved, such as: spinning mills, steel works, breweries, sugar refineries, coal mines, electric plants, all mines, quarries, etc.

There was added to this fourth section a Central Bureau of Supplies, composed of

the principal proprietors of local industries who desired to reconstitute their enterprises under the very same conditions of exploitation that had prevailed before the war. Each one of these competent committees had, first of all, to establish its program of action and submit it to the Superior Committee of Industrial Reconstruction for authorization and execution.

Such was the work of organization planned by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions and put into action just as soon as the territories of northern France were freed from the invader.

II. LOSSES AND DEVASTATION

One cannot appreciate the gigantic task which at this moment is incumbent on the new ministry, unless one knows the extent of the ravages caused by four years of Germanic invasion and occupation. To prove this statement, facts and figures are more eloquent than all commentaries.

The present article borrows such data from the official authorized sources, from parliamentary reports, from special missions of investigation, and from the remarkable balance-sheet drawn up by Mr. André Tardieu, High Commissioner of the French Republic to the United States.

AGRICULTURE: The German invasion, at its maximum, covered about eleven departments of the North and Northeast of France, out of the eighty-six which compose its territory. But the surface of this portion corresponds to only six per cent. of the total superficial area, and includes several thousand villages, towns and cities, where 350,000 houses were destroyed.

To reconstruct these houses, dwellings and farm buildings, without taking into account work necessitated to complete their interiors, would require, it has been calculated, a half-billion days' work, which, if we include the cost of materials for construction, amounts to a total expense of two billions of dollars, to be increased perhaps by a third billion if we wish to cover personal property destroyed.

As for agriculture, no source of revenue whatever exists in this region; the soil has been ravaged by artillery, the crops and live stock have been wiped out or carried away. The lowest estimate fixes the losses in herds of live stock at a million and a half heads, in farm machinery and wagons, at a half-million articles; in other words, a market



THE DEVASTATED SECTION OF FRANCE (IN BLACK)

In the dash for Paris, during the first month of war, the German armies covered a slightly larger area, but the black portion of this map represents the section fought over, or enemy-occupied, for four years. It approximates one-sixteenth of the entire area of France)



THE RUINS OF A TYPICAL AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

(Throughout the entire devastated region, not only farm buildings and machinery, but roads, bridges, trees, the banks and beds of streams, even the soil itself—all have been ravaged by artillery fire. Livestock has entirely disappeared)

value of a billion and two hundred million dollars' worth of property has been here annihilated.

MANUFACTORIES: But this region of the North was not alone rich in agriculture. Manufactories here were, before the war, the most flourishing of all industries, and, although comparatively small in extent, this region contributed not less than one-fourth of the national budget.

The figures for 1913 attest that the industrial production of the North represented 94 per cent. of the total production, and the following figures permit us to estimate: steel works, 70 in number; metallurgy, 90; spinning mills, 90; weaving mills, 60; coal mines, 55; electric plants, 45; refineries, 70, etc.

The official report declared with regard to the destruction of this industrial wealth:

Nothing exists of all that—work-shops, machine-factories, mines, factories; everything has either been destroyed or carried away by the enemy!

The destruction is so complete, that, in the particular case of our coal mines, two years of effort will be necessary before a single ton of coal can be mined, and ten years must elapse before the production of these mines can even equal that of 1913.

FINANCES: Such a destruction of property does away with all possibility of financial reconstruction on the basis of the national budget in times of peace. The liquidation

of the total expenses of the war, which amount to twenty-four billions of dollars, augmented by the expenses of reconstruction, has increased the ordinary annual budget, which was a billion of dollars in 1914, to more than two billions in 1918. To meet such an outlay, the country finds itself deprived of the resources of the ravaged North, which, as we have seen, amounted to 25 per cent. of the total revenues. Such a wide disparity between the expenses and the revenues cannot fail to weigh heavily on national prosperity during all the period of reconstruction.

But agriculture and manufactories are not the only things needing to be reestablished in full possession of their means of existence. We must also take into account the quantity of rolling stock destroyed, whose speedy replacement is essential.

Now, the enemy destroyed the lines of communication, rendered useless the road-beds of the railways, and reduced the rolling stock by several thousand cars and locomotives. If we add to these devastations the destruction or theft of all stocks of raw material in the invaded regions, we may estimate that the sum of five billions of dollars, indicated as necessary for industrial reconstruction alone, is no exaggeration of the reality of immediate requirements.

NATIONAL ECONOMY: But, by the side of this reconstruction, locally limited or de-

fined by precise losses, there remains the vaster work of national reconstruction.

The concentration, through four years, of the entire energy of the country on military needs has caused a profound injury to the economic life of France. The displacement and the transformation of general production into purely military effort, the ruin of the merchant marine (what between the losses due to submarines and the cessation of ship-building), the disappearance of export trade and the loss of all foreign markets, constitute numerous problems which require efficacious, practical, and rapid solutions by the national administration.

Already the immense program of needs created by this reconstruction has been established and put into operation, and American production has lent powerful coöperation.

It is, in fact, to the extent of tens of billions of dollars that America will have to furnish France with iron, steel, coal, manufacturing machinery, rails, locomotives, cars, boats, not to mention raw material of all sorts necessary to the revictualing of her population and the restoration of its firesides.

THE IRREPARABLE: But what cannot be replaced, what constitutes the only irreparable loss, which no indemnity in the world can ever compensate, is the sacrifice of *two million and a half of human lives*, through death, mutilation and disease. Such a loss represents about one-fifteenth of the total population—a source of wealth which is completely annihilated and lost for the restoration

of national life, and which will never answer the call of peace.

The nation owes a sacred debt to the dead—that of caring for the needs of their families, of their widows and of their children.

It has also promised to care for and support those whose wounds have rendered them incapable of work. Looked at from the material standpoint, this is a new and heavy charge, which will run into billions in the years to come.

But, here again, no figures could give an exact estimate of such a national social and economic weakening, caused by the disappearance of such a mass of men, who constituted by their youth, health and intelligence the fortune of the nation and the hope of generations to be born.

The reannexation of Alsace-Lorraine may appear to certain persons as it were a sentimental amelioration of the sacrifice of these living forces and an evident economic compensation, since these two provinces have a population of about two million inhabitants.

None the less, the irreparable loss remains not only for all the firesides which deplore the disappearance of a loved one, but also for the nation as a whole, stricken in its very vitality. This applies not only to the present but to the future as well.

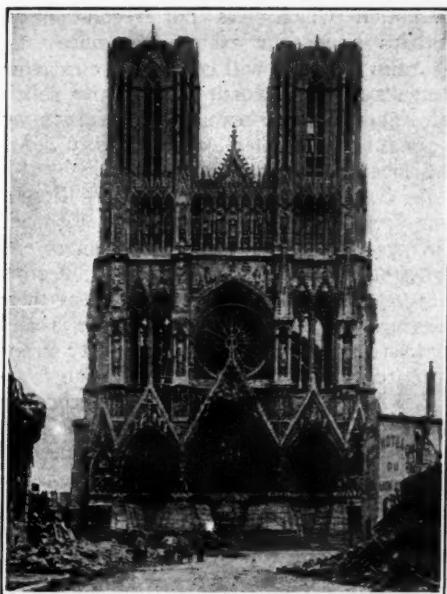
III. READJUSTMENTS OF LABOR

NATIVE LABOR: Among so many difficulties involved in the national regeneration, that of labor occupies a position at the front



A BUTTON FACTORY IN A CITY OF NORTHERN FRANCE

(Ninety-four per cent. of France's industrial product before the war came from the North. Now, to quote an official report, "Nothing exists of all of that; everything has either been destroyed or carried away.")



THE FAMOUS CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS, UNDER
(The destruction is much greater than appears from the
beautiful structure is now



GERMAN ARTILLERY FIRE FOR FOUR YEARS
picture on the left. The other view indicates that the
little more than a shell)

of the stage. In the very first year of the war, the government was obliged to call to its aid inhabitants of the colonies, in order to fill the gaps caused by the mobilization of several millions of men, snatched away from their work. Thus it happened that, both for the tilling of the abandoned soil and for the manufacture of war material in factories, laborers from Kabylia, Annam, Siam, China, were called to replace workingmen who had gone to war.

However much such a substitution during the years of national defense may be justified in the name of interests superior to interests of class, the return of peace evidently requires other solutions.

When the workers return to the fields and factories, they will find themselves in economic competition with "natives" of all colors, who had come to replace them temporarily. Hence the questions of salary, housing, customs, morality, which have already been raised and studied by the Minister of Labor. He, animated by the most ardent democratic spirit, has not failed, in proposing happy solutions, to make an appeal to the various interested workingmen's unions.

It would, in fact, be deplorable if conflicts should arise among workers who have diversely contributed during four years to the same cause, at a time when the country, weakened economically, needs for its regen-

eration the effort of all—of both the settled workers, whose rights in the nation are incontestable, and the colonial auxiliaries, who responded to the call of the government in order to make sure the common safety.

FOREIGN LABOR: But "men of color" are not the only ones who have collaborated in this task: Englishmen, Belgians, Italians, Americans not called out by mobilization or specially assigned to work back of the lines, have constituted in many regions of France populous colonies employed on equal terms with the local workingmen.

Many of them will desire to remain in the hope of a better situation than in their own country; others, to found here a family—and these cases are already very numerous. It will evidently be necessary, after the adoption of temporary solutions for the peace readjustment among all these workers, to formulate a general statute regularizing their citizenship, duties and rights.

If to govern is to foresee, we feel able to affirm that these important questions are being taken under serious consideration by the Ministry of Reconstruction, lately constituted, by the Superior Council of Labor and by the parliamentary commissions.

There will not be too many of these "reconstructing" workers, whatever be their color or origin, when the time comes to un-

dertake the programs of great enterprises of reparation and of new extension. The rebuilding of lines of communication devastated by artillery, the construction of bridges and other works of economic art, the increase in the system of canals and waterways, the multiplication of railways—all of these things being channels equally indispensable for the commercial and industrial renaissance of the country—will oblige the government to make a deliberate appeal to all possible sources of labor.

A central bureau of employment is already coöordinating "supply and demand," and dividing, according to regional and local needs, the workingmen whom manufactories now idle or war industries have released.

ACCESSION TO PROPERTY RIGHTS: The question of salaries is not the whole thing, in France. There exists a strong tradition, which, ever since the claims of labor in 1848, has oriented reformers toward the search for a method of opening to employees the door to collective property rights. The law of March 25, 1884, which gives a legal status to labor unions, does not, however, accord them the rights of civil personality, and many democrats, defenders of the working class, would like to complete this law.

Previous to 1914, the majority of union workingmen were themselves hostile to any

conception which was not revolutionary. Perhaps after four years of sacrifices the reformist elements will convince the extreme elements that it is worth while to give political rights their economic interpretation by conferring on them collective property rights and labor contracts.

As early as 1906, Mr. Aristide Briand, who became later President of the Council, had devoted himself to this problem of the rights of organized unions to hold collective property: rights to own the places where their meetings were held, to own factories and commercial enterprises, and to own, by means of shares, a part of the capital of a corporation. Many groups interested in economic studies have enunciated projects giving form to these principles, and several members of Parliament have introduced propositions looking to the same object.

The war, having ripened our intellects and given more solidarity to rival national interests, has certainly prepared the way for this decisive experiment, which may have a salutary effect at a time when the extremist efforts of Russia and Germany show conservative interests the danger of opposing inevitable transformations.

THE INTELLECTUAL CLASS: The common sacrifice of all classes of the nation has conferred on them rights which no one would dream of contesting. If the best among the working class paid with their lives for the liberties whose defense they made sure; if it be true that in democracy and in humanity one man is the equal of another and has an equal right to respect, one cannot forget, nevertheless, that the intellectual class was, to a large extent, the depositary of all the acquisitions of the civilizing thought which, precisely, aids the world to escape from war-like barbarity.

In France, the intellectual class paid amply also for its right to maintain its rank and to play its rôle in the work of national reconstruction.

In fact, it was by thousands that savants, sociologists, authors, poets, painters, and the representatives of all branches of art, laid down their lives.

There perished equally by thousands the students of the great schools which are the nurseries of physicians, chemists, learned doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, engineers, lawyers.

And these losses are likewise irreparable, for they constitute a painful weakening of



A WRECKED BUILDING IN PERONNE
(Also a specimen of German humor, the sign saying,
"Do not be angered, only surprised")



THE RUINS OF BAPAUME, WITH THE ROADWAY CLEARED

the intellectual and moral radiance of the nation in the world.

Those who fought and who survived them—their elders and their juniors—are now the ones who must give forth that radiation, the quality always mentioned by foreign nations when they wish to glorify France.

The intellectual class may well play the rôle which is now incumbent upon it, after the sacrifices which it gladly made, and that rôle is to be the moral arbiter among the internal rivalries, the social pacifier in the task of reconstruction. The generous zeal and the disinterestedness with which the élite of France collaborate in this reconstruction are the best guaranty of its success.

IV. SOCIAL EVOLUTION

NEW CITIES: When the engineers set to work to reconstruct the devastated regions, numerous conflicts of ideas and tendencies arose. The most eager partisans of the picturesque wanted an exact reconstruction of the villages and towns destroyed, a reconstruction-preserving their former topography and aspect. The houses were to have the same size, the same shape, and, to attain this resurrection, one would make use of photographs and even of the memories of survivors.

This was evidently a thrilling conception which, in the thought of its defenders, was to abolish the image of the war and offer the soldier returning from the front the very illusion of his former home.

An exposition of drawings and models at Paris recently permitted one to appreciate the ingenuousness of such a conception. None the less, the plan early prevailed over wisdom, so deeply did it touch sentiment.

But, after reflection, it was quickly decided that this sentimental reconstruction no longer suited the conditions of modern life.

For, outside the large cities, which, of course, are not numerous, the devastated regions contained only archaic villages, built without any plan, along the edge of the roads, and generally built of primitive materials. These villages were innocent of nearly all the elementary requirements of hygiene.

If we except the churches and a few historic edifices, for which a special plan of reconstruction is contemplated by the Ministry of Fine Arts, all the houses and farm buildings destroyed do not materially merit the least regret.

Reason being in accord with hygiene, as also with the necessities of the new economic life which is to animate the reconstructed regions, an agreement was reached on the basis of modern villages, reconstructed with



IN BETHUNE—THE RUE DE SADI CARNOT

healthful and comfortable houses, utilizing solid and practical materials, such as reinforced concrete, and profiting by the principal improvements in household economy in the matter of heating, supply and use of water, air, etc.

Naturally, new means of communication were arranged for, whether by automobile trucks, trolleys or trains, for the villages which, as the case might be, were lacking any of these conveniences. And architects, following the suggestions of the sociologists, have logically provided the new cities with municipal and educational buildings, with halls for public meetings and for theatrical representations, for open-air games and public gardens, all worthy of a new era of prosperity and peace. The very completeness of the ruin makes it the more easy to adopt radical changes.

It will be seen that such a reconstruction is both industrial and social; it is inspired as much by the democratic spirit as by general morality.

In fact, it is much less a question of piling brick on brick than of creating in each village a new social milieu where everything contributes to the collective well-being, to the communal spirit, to the education of all through comfort and individual liberty.

By improved means of transportation, as well as by this regeneration of the home, one may say that the devastated regions are destined to a very considerable material and

moral progress, and that the social level will rise there more quickly in the general evolution of the country.

V. NECESSARY TRANSFORMATIONS

Taken as a whole, the work of reconstruction is destined to transform all the conditions of national life, and there would be no use in rebuilding the country economically if its laws took no account of new necessities and legitimate aspirations determined by the war.

Already the reform of taxation in the form under which Parliament has voted it will have a salutary effect in the villages and cities. The old system, by taxing doors and windows, really taxed the air and the sunlight.

How many times, as I have traveled through the country in the course of democratic campaigns, I have been struck with the physical degradation of the race as seen in the children, a degradation caused by too many people inhabiting houses where small orifices allowed insufficient quantities of oxygen to penetrate!

Henceforth the law taxes income—and this only since the war—and France follows in the footsteps of England and America, after a delay which we may well regret.

The question of alcohol is still pending. It will soon claim its solution, if we wish to avoid—in the formidable agglomerations of working people, brought together by new industries—dangerous fermentations and a de-



A HOUSE REBUILT BY THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

(The building, in Bethencourt, has evidently retained its original design—for the lack of windows, due to the old taxation system described by the author, is noticeable)

cline in morality among workingmen of many different origins.

The abolition of the popular consumption of alcohol, which is a veritable poison, will soon be imposed, for, if it is prohibited to the soldier, why should it be permitted to the soldier who has again become a citizen? Here again France may follow in the footsteps of America.

Finally, the suppression of child labor in factories and the franchise accorded to all women will constitute two reforms which are not only important but vital for the regeneration of the home.

VI. CONCLUSION

Although social reconstruction depends only on the nation, material reconstruction cannot be undertaken in France without the aid of the Allies.

The economic interdependence of countries is such that if one suffers all the others are also injured. The nations united in the war ought, then, as much through self-interest as through sympathy, to remain united in peace.

By the means of coöperation and contracts, France can be assured of the efficacious aid which she will receive from without, and particularly from America.

A close financial and industrial coöperation exists already between the two republics, and this will give them more solidarity in the future. For it would be quite useless to proclaim noble ideals of friendship and fraternity, if economic relations engendered among nations regrettable antagonisms, with whose fatal outcome we are familiar.

In this economic entente of the nations allied in the great common construction, everything, then, will depend on the spirit of democracy which animates them. And to assure the success of this work, let us dare to say that those directing our governments should not be afraid of new and bold solu-



THE CITY HALL AT MONTDIDIER

tions in all the domains where they shall have to come to a decision.

Financial, economic, industrial, political solutions demand everywhere daring, nothing else, if one wishes to avoid the danger of remaining stationary and of clinging stubbornly to ancient social dogmas, with the inevitable consequences that we know about.

As for France, the chosen country for democratic experiments, the favorite soil for revolutions in ideas, one need not worry about the results of bold solutions, for the country is morally and intellectually strong, and is capable of absorbing anything, with the essential condition that liberty prevail.

"In the twentieth century," wrote Michelet, one of the greatest historians and poets, "France will declare peace to the world."

This prophecy is doubtless being realized at the conference now going on at Paris. Let us hope so, and may the land drenched in so much blood conceive that there is a "democratic order" capable of increasing and preserving humanity from itself!

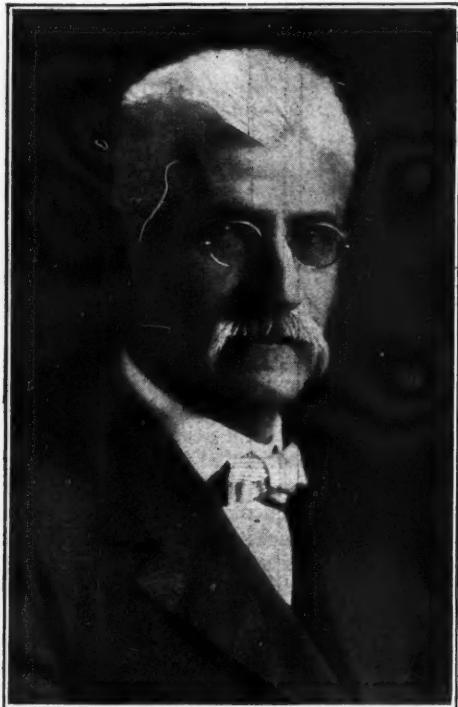
For, to preserve the national reconstruction of each people against the risks of a new war, it is evidently necessary that all the peoples put into practice a broad international policy, based on ideals which the Entente leaders have proclaimed. The economic peace of the world may be had for this price.



WISCONSIN'S NEW PRESIDENT

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin)



PRESIDENT EDWARD A. BIRGE, OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S institutions of higher learning, no less than her industries, her railroads, and her commercial establishments, are about to be rehabilitated on a peace basis. Throughout the war period they have lived up to their rich traditions by giving generously, and of their best, in the service of the nation. Their student bodies have been depleted, their faculties decimated, their curricula disarranged, their notions of educational values rudely challenged. Eventually they will be the better for the experience. If any were in a rut it is safe to assume that they have been jolted out. All will be compelled to take stock of their assets, reconsider their functions, scrutinize their methods, readjust their machinery, freshen their spirit, tone up their *morale*, in a helpful fashion.

It need hardly be remarked that this colossal task of reorganization calls for wise counsel and for sure leadership. The situation is rich in opportunity; it abounds also in pitfalls. That the high demands of the day will be met by most institutions no one may doubt. It is to be expected that they will be met by the University of Wisconsin; and here their surest guarantee is the election of Dean Edward Asahel Birge, in succession to the late President Charles R. Van Hise.

The University of Wisconsin opened its doors seventy years ago. It has had eight presidents, most of them—and especially John Bascom the philosopher, T. C. Chamberlin the geologist, Charles Kendall Adams the historian, and Charles R. Van Hise the geologist and economist—men whose personal contribution to learning and to the public well-being has become a part of the nation's treasured record.

President Birge is eminently worthy of the succession; and he could not have come into his present position at a time when his special qualifications were in stronger demand. It is safe to say that no man knows the University through and through as does he. He is not, indeed, as was Van Hise, a native of the State and a graduate of the institution. His birthplace is Troy, New York, and his *alma mater* Williams College. But he migrated to Wisconsin, as instructor in natural history, in 1875, and his connection with the institution has been continuous from that date. One of the happiest events in the University's history was the celebration, in 1915, of his fortieth anniversary in the institution's service. From 1879 to 1911 he was professor and head of the department of zoölogy. From 1891 until his election to the presidency he was dean of the College of Letters and Science; and it is doubtless as "Dean Birge" that he will longest be remembered by Wisconsin men. From 1900 to 1903, and during two or three brief intervals later, he was acting president.

Like two of his nearer predecessors, President Birge is a scientist. His chief interest

is fresh-water biology, and he is everywhere recognized as a leading authority on the biological and physical aspects of inland lakes. His investigations and publications have made one of Madison's "four lakes," Lake Mendota, scientifically one of the best-known bodies of fresh water in the world. Fitting recognition has come from many scientific societies, which have conferred upon the investigator their highest honors.

The new president is not only an administrator of well-tested quality, a scholar of international reputation, and a teacher of uncommon skill; he is above all, a man of culture and personality. His familiarity with literature would do credit to a university professor of that subject; his solicitude for

the interests of learning in all its branches finds fitting expression in his prominence in the scholarship fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa, of which he has been a senator since 1904 and vice-president since 1913.

Sharp-eyed, keen-minded, terse of speech, adept as a wielder of the rapier in debate, he is recognized by his colleagues as easily the most striking figure among them. He has, too, the homelier human qualities that compel regard: kindness of manner, modesty of demeanor, simplicity of tastes, genuineness of friendly interest, and, withal, a sense of humor. One may be pardoned the suspicion that in these unsettled days the last-mentioned quality is a university president's most valuable asset.

CANADA'S CARE OF HER SOLDIERS

HOW THE DOMINION DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL REESTABLISHMENT CARRIES OUT ITS WORK

BY OWEN E. McGILLCUDDY

THE Dominion of Canada was not only one of the first Allied nations to deal with the problem of the invalided soldier, but she has, during the last few months, evolved one of the most successful systems for helping all her fighting sons find their way back to the constructive activities of civilian life. It took much time, money and effort on the part of the government before the responsibility for this important and urgent work was properly adjusted and distributed. But it was worth it. For it resulted in the formation of a separate federal department and thus provided an efficient, all-embracing organization for enabling the returned soldier to get out of khaki into tweeds in a more profitable way to himself, his family, and the community at large.

It was early in 1915 when the problem of the returned soldier received the first attention of the cabinet. After a survey had been taken of the situation the government came to the decision that a special Royal Commission would be the best solution and the Military Hospitals Commission was thereupon organized. At that time the prob-

lem of according the best possible medical treatment for the invalided men was the one which was uppermost in the minds of the authorities. As a consequence the work of the Commission in its initial stages was planned primarily to provide adequate hospital accommodation and supervise the general care of the returning sick and wounded.

Up to March of 1918 the medical service was made up partly of civilian and partly of military doctors, the latter being members of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. But owing to the difficulties which were being experienced in dual administration between the C. A. M. C. and the Commission, and because of the apparent necessity for creating another administrative body which could deal with the constantly developing civilian problem of the returning veterans, a readjustment in the work was made necessary. This resulted in the turning over of all military hospitals, active and convalescent, other than those at Guelph, Whitby and Saskatoon, to the Department of Militia and Defense to be operated under the direction of the Army Medical Corps. To these hospitals men re-

turning from overseas are admitted for treatment and held there until such time as their cases are diagnosed or medical finality in the sense of a man being found unfit for service has been reached. But all incurable, such as paralytics, mental deficient, epileptics, tubercular and insane patients are transferred to the care of what is now known as the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, formerly the Military Hospitals Commission.

A New Government Department

After the hospital readjustment had been finally disposed of the government came to the conclusion that a new federal department, separate and distinct from all military control, was absolutely essential for the fitting back of the veterans into civilian life. This resulted in the creation of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment, with a representative in the cabinet in the person of Sir James Lougheed.

To this department are now attached the Invalided Soldiers' Commission and the Pension Board. The Order-in-Council bringing about this readjustment provided also that all occupational therapy or vocational training which was considered necessary in the various military hospitals should remain under the control of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, but subject to the direction of the medical officer in charge. This arrangement has been found of much advantage to the Army Medical Corps, as it places at their disposal the teaching facilities of the vocational branch, while it has been found equally advantageous to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment because it enables its officials to make a closer study of the men prior to discharge, and in some cases to commence the preliminary work of his industrial reëducation.

The arrangement has also a marked advantage over the American organization inasmuch as the American plan has resulted in some duplication of teaching organization brought about by the fact that all occupational therapy treatment is controlled by the Surgeon General. Canada's system, on the other hand, provides for a civilian organization which picks the man up after a discharge from the army, looks after his disabilities, gives him his industrial reëducation, and then endeavors to locate him in a position where his capabilities will be best suited to the trade or profession he wishes to enter.

The organization for administering and controlling the work of the Department of

Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment, including that of the Board of Pensions, is carried on by five branches, the heads of which are directly responsible to the Minister of the Department, Sir James Lougheed. While the general policy for carrying on the reëstablishment of veterans is initiated and directed from Ottawa, each province—or unit, as it is referred to in routine orders—has its own branch headquarters to which all schools, hospitals, and sanatoria in the territory report at regular intervals.

The work of the department, apart from that of the Pensions Commissions, which is a self-contained branch of the department, is divided into five branches and known in order of routine as follows: (1) Medical Services; (2) Commandant's Branch; (3) Demobilization Branch; (4) Vocational Branch; and (5) Directors' Branch.

Medical and Surgical Attention

In considering the duties of the first branch—that of the Medical Services—it must be borne in mind that the men given treatment are in all cases veterans who have been discharged from the army as unfit for further service. The branch as organized under the administration of Col. McKelvey Bell, has considerably enlarged its usefulness by extending the scope of its work. It now provides medical and surgical treatment, together with medical supplies and orthopedic requirements, to all discharged members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force free of charge, whether in hospital or at home. Not only does the branch look after all incurables and incapacitated patients scattered among the various sanatoria and hospitals which have been established throughout the Dominion, but all discharged soldiers, whether they reside in city, town, village, or remote rural districts, may now have their medical needs supplied in the quickest possible time upon a recurrence of any physical ailment. Up to date nearly 60,000 men have received treatment, and it is estimated that when the sick and wounded now convalescing in Great Britain are returned to Canada these figures will be augmented by 40,000 patients who will have to, in a more or less degree, receive treatment at various times after their discharge from the army.

Order and Discipline

The second branch of the department is that known as the Commandant's Branch, or, as it is familiarly called by the veterans,

the "Law and Order Brigade." It is the duty of the Commandant's Branch to see that order and discipline are maintained in all hospitals, sanatoria and schools which are operated under the control of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission. The procedure of the work of the Commandant's representative in each unit is to keep in touch with returned men who are about to be discharged from the Department of Militia and Defense. As soon as a returned soldier is discharged the Commandant's representative must see that copies of all medical and military papers are handed over to the Deputy Commandant of the unit, who thereupon assumes responsibility for their safekeeping. The only time that a veteran is not responsible to the representative is the time which is actually taken up in vocational and industrial re-training. The work of the Commandant's Branch as organized is not discipline by force, but discipline by persuasion, the men in each unit having their time taken up either in legitimate amusement or personal development.

Securing Employment

The third branch, which was created during last November, is known as the Demobilization Branch, and is directed by Major L. L. Anthes, a prominent Toronto manufacturer. The duties of this branch will, for the most part, consist of classifying and finding employment for all soldiers who have no work in prospect when they secure their discharge. This will be done by coöordinating the plans of the department with those of the departments of Labor, Militia and Defense and the Soldiers' Land Settlement Board. The department will, through this branch, establish direct contact, not only with the twenty-one dispersal centers of the Militia and Defense, but also with each of the demobilization employment offices now being organized throughout all of the provinces of the Dominion.

At each unit headquarters of the department there will be a unit council composed of two staff members of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment, a representative of the labor unions, a representative manufacturer, a representative returned soldier, a representative of the demobilization employment office, and two members of the Provincial Returned Soldiers' Commission. This council, keeping in close touch with the needs of the returning soldiers, will, it is believed, be in a position to anticipate and remove many of the industrial obstacles which

have hitherto handicapped the soldier on his return from overseas.

Vocational Selection and Re-Training

The fourth branch of organization is that of the Vocational Branch, which, under the control of Mr. W. E. Segsworth, has made remarkable strides in efficiency and has been investigated by officials of all of the Allied countries. The work of the Vocational Branch is divided into two classes; viz., (1) Occupational Therapy, and (2) Industrial Re-Training.

The Occupational Therapy treatment is provided for the patients of the hospitals or sanatoria who are partly recovered from their disabilities but are unable to get from their beds. This is sometimes known as bedside occupational work or ward occupations, and consists for the most part of knitting, embroidery, sewing, plastic clay modeling, etc., the idea being to take the patient's mind away from his bodily ills by employing his hands in work he may be interested in. After the patient is sufficiently recovered to be able to move about, his spare time, during school hours, is spent in the curative work shops which are usually annexed to the hospital. In these shops the work taken up is similar to that which is given in an ordinary manual training shop, and embraces such forms as carpentry, light metal-work, leather and metal embossing, typewriting, light machine-shop work, and so forth. While the men are pursuing the work in the curative workshops they are closely supervised by a medical representative and an expert instructor who has made a study, not only of manual work, but its effect on disabilities. Periods of fatigue and strain are watched very closely and the manipulation of tools is prescribed in such a way that the weakened members of the body will only receive the required amount of strengthening exercise.

The second division of the Vocational Branch is that familiarly known as Industrial Re-Training. In the early days of the war it was found that of the number of men returning to Canada physically unfit for further combative service a percentage were so disabled by injury or disease that they were not, or would not, through treatment or training, be in condition to carry on in their former wage-earning capacity. As a result the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment, through the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, provides industrial re-training for these men in its various schools and insti-

tutions under the control of the Director of Vocational Training.

The range of opportunities for the training and employment of returned soldiers has been considerably clarified as the result of a careful and extensive industrial survey conducted during the last six months of 1918 by the Vocational Branch of the Department. As a result of this investigation it was ascertained that in the classes under the control of the branch, or in industrial plants which were coöoperating with the Department, there are now two hundred distinct fields of endeavor in which disabled men can be trained for future usefulness. On November 5, 1918, 7594 applications for re-training had been received at Ottawa, and of this number 5477 had been granted courses and given pay and allowances. The last registry showed that 158 courses of training were being given in various parts of the Dominion and that the total number of graduates was 2063.

Business Organization

The fifth and last division is known as the Directors' Branch. This branch is charged with seeing that the business organization of each unit throughout Canada performs its functions with system and despatch. It is really the clearing-house or "trouble zone" of the Department. The work entrusted to this branch has principally to do with the purchasing of supplies and equip-

ment of all kinds, and the control and upkeep of all buildings. It looks after the payment of men and their dependents while taking treatment or training, and the providing of clothing, foodstuffs, medical supplies, and orthopedic supplies.

Summing up the work of the new Department, it may be stated that the records available at the various unit headquarters and at Ottawa set forth one of the most interesting successes in national administration since the outbreak of war. The Canadian veterans who have been salvaged and brought back to useful endeavors after being broken on the wheel of battle, are a living evidence of what Canadian initiative and enterprise have succeeded in accomplishing. Previous to the war there is no record that Canada boasted of a single trade school. To be sure there were some colleges which had a reputation for thoroughness and quality of their work, as well as some technical schools in the larger cities which ministered to the needs of the community so far as the training of minors was concerned. But there was no machinery in existence for dealing with the problem of adult retraining and the wide variety of subjects or occupations which the demands of to-day now call for. When these facts are considered Canada's success in restoring her warrior sons to health and industrial usefulness is one of the crowning achievements of her tremendous war efforts.



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RED CROSS INSTITUTE, NEW YORK CITY, WHERE CRIPPLED SOLDIERS WILL BE TAUGHT TRADES

(The picture at the left shows a one-armed man learning the art of mechanical drafting. Men graduated from this school have all become self-supporting and productive workers. The group of crippled men at the right is learning how to do welding)





A PROPOSED THROUGH RAILROAD ROUTE, ON TERRITORY OF THE ALLIES, FROM THE ATLANTIC OCEAN TO THE BLACK SEA

(Transcontinental railroad traffic in Europe has always been via Germany and Austria. The route outlined on this map is already in existence, over practically all of its length, but is not equipped for heavy and fast trains. It would be of prime importance to France and Italy, and to the new nations of Central Europe. It would also open up unlimited possibilities for American business, especially since its western terminus is at Bordeaux, the French port developed so importantly by the American army. The project is one evidence only of the great changes in transportation that will come during the readjustment and reconstruction period)

ODESSA TO THE ATLANTIC

A NEW RAILROAD ROUTE PLANNED ACROSS SOUTHERN EUROPE
BY WYATT RUSHTON

ROME, October 25.—The plans for the future direct railway line between Bordeaux and Odessa are receiving special attention from the Italian Ministry of Transportation.

It will be necessary only to link up the existing lines between Bordeaux, Marseilles, Ventimille, Turin, Milan, Trieste, Belgrade, Bucharest and the Odessa terminus.

Direct communication between the Atlantic and the Black Sea by rail will be one of the most important "after-war" problems.—NEWS ITEM.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S declaration in his Red Cross speech last May that America will not abandon the struggling Russian democracy, pledged us to a policy of helpful interest for at least some years after Russian territory is evacuated. Previous promises to protect the interests of Rumania at the peace conference, and the Senate speech of January, 1917—when the President declared that one of the essential bases of peace was an outlet for Serbia to the sea—also bind us to a guardianship over the interests of these smaller peoples.

That this guardianship will be exercised in conjunction and in full accord with Great Britain, France, and Italy is made plain by

our attitude, before the war, in regard to purely European affairs, and by the circumstances through which we have become interested. For the next generation at least, the United States and the major Allies will be equally concerned for the future of their smaller brothers in arms; and it is on the political and economic independence of these latter that they purpose to found and maintain the peace of the world.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AS A MARKET

The crying need in these countries during the period of their economic reconstruction and development will be machine tools and the means of transportation. Without these, furnished by a disinterested third party, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania will not have been liberated. If America fails to find some means of supplying cheaply and quickly motor-trucks, reapers, binders, and even locomotives and rolling stock to Eastern and Southern Europe, Germany will have the market entirely to herself as she did before the war.

Another era of dependence upon Germany similar to that which lasted for some

thirty years before the war is certainly in the present state of Western Europe opinion unthinkable for any of the nations which have been at war with her. Yet English and French steel-working concerns cannot begin to supply the demand which will arise from the more backward countries of their own continent when the war is over.

GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY—BOTH COMMERCIAL AIDS OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

Nor will public opinion allow the central position occupied by Germany and Austria to make those countries, under whatever form of government, the arbiters of European commerce between North and South or East and West. It needs only a glance at the map of Europe to show the geographical advantages possessed by the Central Powers and exploited by them in the past.

Europe is a continent of many long and comparatively narrow peninsulas (Great Britain but for the accident of the Channel being one), all of them lying in a prevailingly north-and-south direction almost at right angles to the main body. This main body itself may then be considered as another narrow peninsula running east and west and at right angles to the continental mass of Russia. On this larger peninsula the Germanic states occupy the territory to the west of Russia, to the south of the Scandinavian countries and to the north and west of the independent states of the Balkan peninsula. Italy is to the south and most of France is to the west.

Their geographical position, together with the mountain features which give direction to the watersheds of Europe, sufficed before the war to give these Central Powers control of most of the land transportation in Europe. For instance, there was through land transportation between Paris and St. Petersburg before the war; but considerably more than half of it was through German territory. Prussia controlled practically all of the plain falling away from the Alps towards the North and Baltic seas. Routes farther to the south invariably encountered mountain barriers, where the passes running north and south were also practically in Teutonic hands.

EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO CHECK GERMAN COMMERCIAL DOMINATION

This control had been broken to some extent by the piercing of the Simplon tunnel in 1906 which connected Paris by rail with

Southern Italy by way of the Swiss Alps. Another tunnel through the French Alps had been completed considerably earlier.

Again, Serbian resistance to Austrian and German schemes for a right-of-way through Serb territory to Salonica and Constantinople checked plans for expansion to the south, now definitely set at naught.

MOUNTAIN BARRIERS IN FRANCE AND ITALY

Nothing, however, will give Europe an east-and-west railway route, as an alternative for that running through Berlin, until a system is developed to the south of the Alps. Such a system can be evolved only after natural difficulties of some seriousness have been overcome. The spurs of the Alps projecting southward—and forming the spiny backbone of Southeastern France, of Italy, the Balkan peninsula, and a portion of Bessarabia—prevent this route from being a smooth and level road such as that which stretches along the northern plain.

Railroads have with difficulty penetrated the massif of the Cevennes Mountains, lying north-and-south across Southern France: and no direct line east from Bordeaux has yet been constructed. The passes of the Alps near Modane and Ventimille, at the Franco-Italian frontier, have been utilized to admirable advantage, but doubtless the grades and curves on these lines could be greatly improved. Beyond Trieste the railway construction is rather a matter of conjecture—in spite of the fact that the valley of the Save carries one line almost straight to Belgrade—but much rebuilding of roadbed is necessary before the road could carry heavy transcontinental traffic. New construction to the east of Belgrade, also, would seemingly be necessary to secure a short route into Rumania; while the state of the Rumanian railways is such as to demand undoubtedly a vast amount of repair work.

HOW THE DANUBE IS CONTROLLED

These difficulties, however, seem small in view of the political and economic importance of a real trunk line across Southern Europe. The delays and annoyances to which both passengers and shippers would undoubtedly have been subject before the war, through lack of coördination on the various national systems and at the several national frontiers, lead one naturally to suppose that this route was rarely if ever taken.

The situation was really not very different from that of river navigation on the Dan-

ube previous to the interest taken in it by the European powers after the Crimean war. A great east-and-west route for steamboats existed, but its use was subject to both natural and political obstacles. Austria and Russia had rival claims to control on the banks, while the trade of other nations was hampered through restrictions imposed by both. Neither Austria nor Russia, moreover, had sufficient control of the whole length of the river to keep it always in navigable condition.

These obstacles were cleared away by the Treaty of Paris in 1854, through the formation of an international commission consisting of representatives of all the countries which had participated in the war. This commission was entrusted with sovereign powers over the whole of the lower river and over the port at its mouth. At the same time the Rumanian principalities were declared independent of Russian influence, and were given control of the banks from the Iron Gate to the sea.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF A RAILWAY SYSTEM

A similar procedure would suffice to link together in a real international highway the railway lines from Odessa to Bordeaux. Croatia, Istria, and Dalmatia will undoubtedly be made free of Austrian domination, while Trieste will go to Italy. Serbia and Rumania will be so enlarged territorially as to assure that the railway will be all theirs. Control over the right-of-way ought, however, to be given to an international commission with powers to coördinate and standardize the track and rolling-stock all along the line, together with the authority to issue bonds for necessary improvements and to acquire dockage facilities at several of the principal ports.

The system under control of such an international railway commission would cover at least twenty-five hundred miles of main line, with stations at three large ports and four important inland cities. It would not only offer unlimited advantages over the Siberian route for tools, machinery, and automobiles coming from America, but would save several days for American business men, especially those with interests in Southern Russia. Goods cabled for could reach Rus-

sia within two or three weeks after being ordered from the factory in America.

On the other hand, the line would bring Russian and Rumanian agricultural products so essential for feeding the industrial workers of France, Italy, and England, to Western Europe in record time and without the necessity of passing under the eyes of the Turk at the Dardanelles. A rich trade between Russia and America would undoubtedly spring up.

AMERICA'S INTEREST

The project of a railroad across Southern Europe is now being studied by the Italian Ministry of Transportation, to whom it naturally first appeals. It can probably be completely realized only with British and American aid. The governments of France, Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Russia (the Ukraine) will naturally fix the terms whereby an international right-of-way is created. British interests will nevertheless probably be allowed to take up a good deal of the capitalization or bond issues, while purchases of heavy rails and transcontinental rolling-stock will have to be made in America without prejudice also to American financial support.

The western European allies have had an opportunity already to judge of the greatly increased carrying capacity and tractive power of American freight cars and locomotives used by our army in Europe. Undoubtedly, with the war over, many of these cars and locomotives will find their way into use on European railways, especially where long hauls are necessary, and on this account will become almost indispensable in Italy, Russia, and the Balkans. With a commodious type of freight car and with locomotives of the heavy Mogul type, capable of pulling steep mountain grades, natural obstacles to transportation by the southern route will be reduced to a minimum.

The giant merchant marine built up during the war can serve us and the rest of the world no better than in connection with speedy communication across Europe by land; and President Wilson's third condition of peace, which involves "the suppression as far as possible of all economic barriers between nations," could not be given a more practical application.

AN OUTLET TO THE SEA FOR EUROPE'S NEW NATIONS

BY ALFRED C. BOSSOM

[Mr. Bossom is well known both in London and New York as an architect, having come to this country from England some years ago. His suggestion for a neutral zone or highway was presented at a dinner in New York for President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, just before Dr. Masaryk sailed to take up his official duties. Mr. Bossom's project is ingenious, and suggests how many important changes there may be in the future, in what may be called the transportation and engineering map of Europe, having to do with waterways, through railways, and highways.—THE EDITOR]

IN the center of Eastern Europe, recognition has been accorded by America and the Allies to three Slavic peoples: the Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Jugo-Slavs, who for a century at least have been subject to Teutonic or other oppression.

These lately freed peoples occupy the major part of the land between the Baltic and the Adriatic and with the others approximate sixty million people in this section, none of whom has practical access to the sea. River or rail transportation through enemy or unfriendly territory provides their only outlet to the world. The temptation of the sea-coast nations to take advantage of this abnormal situation is bound sooner or later to develop, irrespective of any agreement or regulations; for the land-locked position of these interior peoples causes every ton of imports or exports to be at the mercy of freight rates, speed, and volume of transportation, and of tariff charges at the discretion of unsympathetic powers.

Any just peace settlement certainly should give to these freed nations the right to trade with any other free nation without being under the constant risk of being subject to restrictions imposed by intermediaries.

One of the strongest of President Wilson's "points" of peace was the elimination of commercial restrictions; and that is definitely denied to these people on account of their location, unless they are given suitable access to the sea—the world's commercial highway.

WHY NOT AN INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY?

Sea access is vital to national economic existence, and to provide for the land-locked countries a new principle will have to be introduced into international arrangements. My suggestion is that these interior nations

be given a practical right of way over the land to the sea, with duty-free ports at the terminations. But the proposed highway must be under international jurisdiction; the Freedom of the Seas must be carried over the land.

Once this principle of right-of-way is demonstrated to have the same importance internationally as it has nationally, branches could be run wherever so required, thus in practical manner definitely avoiding commercial restrictions and giving to each people the power of self-determination in connection with their commercial development.

AVOIDING BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Among the secret agreements given out by Trotzky when the Bolsheviks took possession of the Russian archives was the Treaty of London entered into between April 26 and May 19, 1915. In that treaty England, France, and Russia agreed, as part of the reward for joining them against the Teutonic alliance, that Italian possessions in the northern Adriatic should be materially enlarged.

At that time these new nations (except Serbia and Montenegro) were held by the enemy combination, and although known to be in opposition to the governments under which they existed they had an entirely different status from that which they are now entitled to enjoy as independent peoples recognized as free by the Allies and America.

At worst the Treaty of London contemplated leaving certain portions of the coast to the peoples of the hinterland; but under the armistice agreement with Austria, Italy has taken physical possession of the entire upper end of the Adriatic. Both Trieste and Fiume, the only good ports thereabouts, have been taken, although Fiume was not

covered by the Treaty of London. This situation has caused great dissatisfaction among the Jugo-Slavs and other kindred people, as possession of ports and the mountain passes through which the railroads have to travel seems to them vital.

A NEUTRAL ZONE

My specific proposition to remedy such rivalries is to set apart—from Danzig on the Baltic, to either Trieste or Fiume on the Adriatic—a neutral zone, or international right-of-way, or highway, wide enough to provide fully for indefinite future requirements and available with equal rights for all peoples as they shall be admitted to the concert of nations.

The highway for its entire length would lie on territory that formerly belonged to Germany or Austria-Hungary, land that will be redistributed on account of the recognition of new nations.

The western boundary for these freed people most probably will be determined, first, by approximate ethnographic boundaries, and secondly, by geographic features which most nearly coincide with these ethnographical lines. The highway would coincide with this boundary.

Ten miles, the suggested width of the zone to be set apart, would comprise a very large area, as the path of the highway is approximately 1500 miles long. But any of the land not required for railways or roadways would be available for agriculture or grazing purposes. When it is realized that ultimately the zone might have to provide accommodation for all exports, imports, and transportation for this vast section of Europe, it can easily be understood that it is advantageous to be liberal now.

To acquire territory later to widen such a highway would undoubtedly entail unpleasant international complications. The width proposed would make geographical obstacles less difficult or expensive to circumvent, as a railroad might go around an obstruction and still be within the international zone.



ROUTE OF MR. BOSSOM'S PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY, AND ITS RELATION TO THE NEW NATIONS OF EUROPE

NO SERIOUS PHYSICAL OBSTACLES

Regarding such obstructions: From Danzig (the only practical port on the Baltic) south to Bohemia, no great physical difficulties need be encountered. Encircling the western end of Bohemia, there are ranges of mountains on both the north and the south; but by keeping free of these, as suggested, the vast mineral deposits there could be retained for the Czechoslovak lands. From Bohemia to the Adriatic, to either Trieste or Fiume, there are existing railroad lines through the mountain passes. These lines are in close relationship with the ethnological divisions, and by adhering to the one selected at the peace conference the physical difficulties presented no great problems.

For the present at least, the existing railroads could be used; and the presence of the international zone would compel them to give satisfactory freight rates, etc., for it

would allow a competing line to be built at once should they fail to give proper service.

The Italian Bureau of Public Information, at Washington, has expressed its opinion that the proposed highway would be to the advantage of Germany and her late allies, and that they would control it, as Germanic lands would form one side of it. In my own opinion, it would have the opposite effect. It would form a defining fence under international regulations which would be of far greater force than any boundary between Germany and one of these smaller new nations.

An examination of the map of Europe demonstrates that the old western boundary of Germany was a comparatively straight line; for France, Belgium, and Holland were intellectually organized on practically an equal basis with Germany. But on the eastern boundary long tentacles stretched out into the Slavic lands, due to Germany's greater organizing force, striving to acquire the wealth of these lesser developed peoples.

Thus by the very simple process of infiltration—if this highway or defining zone be not set apart—the Germans would cross into Poland or Czechoslovakia and soon be controlling economic affairs to the detriment of the rightful owners of the lands that they had invaded; and in any dispute the smaller, newly organized nation would be at a disadvantage. The existence of this highway, on the other hand, would be a constant reminder to Germany that should any passage be made across it in opposition to regulations the displeasure of the remainder of the civilized world would have to be faced.

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

For transportation along this highway, either of two methods could be adopted with satisfaction. First, each of the nations affected could have its own railroad, paying for the same and maintaining it. Secondly, there might be one common railroad for the use of all of the peoples.

Either method would of necessity require that all details be mutually agreed upon and that the general supervision be under an international committee; for in certain places (as at bridges, mountain passes, tunnels, etc.)

it would be unnecessary and unjustifiable for each to build separate expensive improvements, for many years at least.

Well-constructed roadways capable of sustaining the utmost automobile traffic would also be necessary, as this form of transportation is yet only in its infancy. Without doubt later this will take the place of the slow freight train to a large extent.

It has been suggested that a few canals might so aid these central nations as to make any other means of sea access unnecessary, but sufficient canals to do this would be of such colossal expense and take so much time to build that the proposition is quite impractical; and at the best the outlets would have to be along rivers which pass for the major portion of their length through territory occupied by unsympathetic peoples.

The Danube running to the Black Sea, or the shallow Elbe, with its numerous locks running to the North Sea, would both entail great time and considerable rehandling for freight ultimately intended for countries such as the United States or England. This would require that workers in the landlocked nations must receive a lesser wage for their efforts, and the manufacturers less for their goods, than their German neighbors who have the most efficient freight distribution system in Europe.

It is of the utmost importance that these peoples be given an opportunity to earn wages that will enable them to maintain their state on a dignified basis, and justify them staying at home to develop their national resources.

The birth pangs of these newly recognized people are likely to be exceedingly harrowing even under most favorable conditions; and if their workers are compelled to take less wages, due to avoidable transportation or tariff obstacles, they will believe that they have not been treated justly.

In conclusion, these land-locked peoples are entitled to the opportunity to live on a just economic basis, which can only be enjoyed if the principle of the Freedom of the Sea is carried over the land to them. Access to highways for transportation is recognized as indispensable to individuals. Why, therefore, is it not essential to nations?

SERVICE—THE KEYNOTE OF A NEW CABINET DEPARTMENT

BY HARLEAN JAMES

THE establishment of strong federal control in numerous war bureaus has been—like the declaration of martial law in an area devastated by flood, earthquake, or fire—inevitable and efficient, but for peace times not in character with the genius of our republic.

It is quite clear, however, that we should not allow ourselves to drop back into the deplorable hodge-podge methods which have too frequently characterized our State and municipal administrations in the past.

The Service of the Federal Government

It is not, as many persons seem to suppose, a question of federal control against local initiative. Increasingly our federal government stands for *service* and not for arbitrary control.

Of the six departments whose heads sat in the cabinet of the first administration, only one—the Post Office—came in close contact with the individual citizens. The War and Navy Departments were for the national defense, the State Department for international diplomacy, the Treasury for the collection of revenue and disbursement of funds, and the Attorney General for legal advice and action.

For something like a hundred and thirty-five years the Post Office has been rendering a constant *service* to the people. For many of these years postmasters were the only visible representatives of the United States Government with whom law-abiding citizens came in frequent contact. Before the rural mail-carrier penetrated mountain fastness and served lonely farms, however, the federal government had established new contacts with the people through its homesteads, its vast reclamation projects, its forest reserves, and its public pleasure parks.

The States Relations Service

The States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture has more recently established new machinery of coöperation between federal and local governments. There have been technical divisions in the depart-

ment for years. There have been State experiment stations. But the State and county agents created by the Smith-Lever bill have carried the message of service to the forsaken districts. To-day there is scarcely a farmer in the country who does not know about the help he can secure from the Department of Agriculture. And that service has not been given at the expense of the States. It has been dispensed through State machinery and has helped to popularize and make effective work already begun by the State agricultural colleges.

It is an educational service. It has no power to command. In order to profit by the federal agents the States must raise their share of the necessary funds. The headquarters are the land-grant colleges, or other colleges directed by State legislatures. In order to secure county agents the counties must pay their share. And when all the money is secured, it will only buy—*service*. The service must make good if it would continue in existence. This particular service has already been worth millions of dollars to the farmers of America. The States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture has proved that results may be secured by service that would be difficult, if not impossible, to attain by control.

The modern business executive is inclined to believe that he can transfer corporation methods to affairs of state. As applied to federal governmental functions in a republic, arbitrary centralized power may defeat the very end for which it is aimed. If control is wise the initiative and aspiration of the rank and file become atrophied. If control is unjust, or even misunderstood, the oppression breeds resentment and is apt to break forth in rebellion. But service stimulates the giver and educates the receiver.

A Department of Civic Economy

We need a cabinet department of service under which may be grouped bureaus—old and new—that make available the results

of their research through local government units. The Bureau of Education, for instance, does not in general furnish instruction to the individual. It offers advice to State, county, and city school officials.

A *Department of Civic Economy*, rightly conceived and vigorously carried out, would give our people the benefits of central coördination without the sacrifice of local initiative. The States would contribute to, as well as profit by, the service. It could be made to meet the test of the republic in the preservation of democratic participation in government with the fullest use of technical ability.

Such a department should conduct research studies and make experiments on a scale possible only for the federal government. It should make information available through a net-work of coöperative machinery similar to that established by the Council of National Defence, which might well be called a *Bureau of States*. This bureau would serve the sleepy cross-roads corner in the remote county. It would serve the noisy traffic-ridden city. Through a *local relations service* it would place State, county and city advisers in every local unit where federal money would be matched with local money, and where certain local services would be established. By all the modern methods of reaching the public these advisers would advertise the wares of the new federal department. The public school system would furnish the headquarters in each of the local units. State universities, or universities designated by State legislatures, would form the nucleus of State activities. Those interested in the community use of the schools would find here a powerful stimulus to their movement.

How States, Counties, and Cities Could Be Helped with Advice

The *Bureau of States* should have three informational divisions:

(a) *The division of State government* would deal with interstate and intrastate laws and institutions.

(b) *The division of county government* would take up the problems of the county. There are some three thousand counties in the United States. There are nearly as many different combinations of restrictions placed on property and utilities, and quite as many ways of neglecting public service.

County citizenry, made up of scattered rural inhabitants and suburban groups whose business interests center in municipalities,

have made small progress in developing responsible county administration. The county tax assessor, the county constable, the county poorhouse commissioner—what standard of efficiency do these officers call to most of our minds? And yet they are generally honest citizens and good neighbors, who follow unthinkingly the traditions of their localities. County communities would demand better service if they knew how, and county officials, on their part, would be proud to render that service if it seemed to be appreciated by their constituents.

(c) *The division of municipal government* would deal with town and city administration. Cities need trained public servants, but they also need a trained public. There is no reason why each hamlet and city should find it necessary to make its own mistakes, regardless of the experience of other towns similarly situated. There are an indefinite number of municipal problems which could be met intelligently, with the best solutions this generation has to offer, if the public could secure reliable information concerning the advantages and disadvantages likely to result from the adoption of proposed policies.

Consider the ultimate result of such a *Bureau of States*. Half a hundred State advisers, three thousand county advisers, several hundred city advisers, supported jointly by federal and local funds, studying local problems and making available from Washington and State institutions technical advice in matters vital to the well-being of every man, woman and child in the United States. Consider the larger opportunities to secure training for public service if the official universities were required to offer courses in the subjects included in the new federal department. Higher standards of citizenship in general and for public office holders in particular would be inevitable.

The Technical Service

It is eminently desirable that flexibility of organization be assured to the proposed bureaus and divisions in order that new needs may be met as they are recognized. A logical analysis of the subject is not attempted. The aim is rather to suggest an administrative machine capable of practical operation.

Three of the suggested bureaus are planned to render human service: public health, education, and social service. The fourth is designed to deal with physical environment.

A More Effective Health Service

The *Public Health Service* at present is admirably administered; but as an integral part of the Department of Civic Economy, profiting by the *local relations service* and co-operating with the other divisions of the department, it could be made measurably more effective than in its isolated position in the Treasury. With the exception of those living in the larger cities, our people are generally dependent upon State boards of health. Yet, who does not know the futility of expecting protection from a State board of health, with a paltry few thousand dollars at its command and thousands of square miles to cover? The heads of the best State health departments in the United States would be the first to acknowledge their handicaps. A federal health service would as now place the results of its research departments at the command of local officials, it would organize demonstration agencies, and it would educate the public to support adequate local health administrations.

Municipal health authorities have as a rule been better supported by public funds than State health boards, but inspections of persons, products, and animals are usually limited to the jurisdictions involved; and a tuberculous cow or infected milk may be excluded from one government unit into another!

Based on the present activities of the Public Health Service, the following divisions might be operated: (a) scientific research, (b) foreign and insular quarantine, (c) sanitary reports and statistics, (d) marine hospital and relief, (e) domestic quarantine, (f) public health nursing, (g) public health administration, (h) food inspection, and (i) recreation.

Public Education Service

A *Bureau of Education* we have had since 1869, but it has been impossible to maintain extensive research divisions or to carry on wide public education with the meager funds which have been voted for this purpose. This bureau, as the head of our public school system, should become one of the most important federal agencies for the inculcation of democratic ideals and training for American citizenship. The pitifully small groups of devoted workers for school attendance and child labor laws in our States did not need the draft in the great war to demonstrate that our national manpower was exerted at

low pressure because of insufficient and inadequate schools. A Public Education Service might develop divisions of (a) surveys and statistics, (b) higher education, (c) primary and secondary education, (d) school management, (e) community coöperation, (f) citizenship, (g) physical education, (h) vocational education, and (i) adult training.

Care of Dependents, Delinquents, and Defectives

A federal *Bureau of Social Service* is much needed. None exists. The care of the dependents, delinquents, and defectives varies widely in the different States. There is no service that needs more the wisdom that comes from research, the sympathy that comes from explanation, and the business methods which come from training. Without a dollar's expenditure in anything but service, a federal department could put States, counties and cities in the way of securing wise, humane, and efficient treatment of those not able to meet the normal responsibilities of civil life. In some of our States excellent examples have been set. In others we are still in the dark ages.

Community Planning and Housing

Turning to the physical environment, we very much need a federal Community Planning and Housing Service, which might have divisions of city planning, public utilities, and housing.

Long ago we established our capital city on the basis of a city plan. Though the plan was forgotten and neglected for many years, it is the plan of Major L'Enfant that saves Washington from being a commonplace city of the second class. Many of its houses are hideous in all reason, but they will pass. Its streets, its parks, its trees, its public buildings, the features due to the city plan, will make it possible for Washington to become the city of distinction which its importance in world affairs renders desirable.

In America we have before us the remaking of several hundred cities, we have the laying-out of new subdivisions, we have the small-town problem, and we might well organize a service for county seats, since we have three thousand of them. We have the planning of rural communities. Some cities and counties have thought it wise to organize shade tree commissions. Certainly a public park, tree, and garden service might be helpful to thousands of communities.

A *Division of Public Utilities* could render valuable service. It would be eminently undesirable to try to standardize systems of light, power, water, or drainage. It would be equally unwise to centralize their control. But certain minimum standards could be formulated from time to time below which communities would be ashamed to be found. Backward communities would be shown how to secure proper utilities. Progressive communities would be saved costly mistakes. There are the problems of light and power, water supply, drainage and sewage, refuse disposal, fire protection, treatment of public highways, telephones, local transportation, and, subject fruitful of controversies, contractual relations with local government units.

A permanent *Division of Housing* is much to be desired. There is at present a war emergency bureau of industrial housing. The housing problem, however, is not limited to war emergency nor bounded by industrial needs. It is a constant community problem.

Unsanitary housing is not confined to city slums. It is often a rural ailment. Housing is essentially a public concern and ought to be treated as such. This does not mean that individual rights and preferences should be suppressed. It does mean that the public good should be paramount. And one of the best ways to discover the public good is by means of a service which shall make consecutive studies and experiments in housing.

There is the whole field of planning economical and attractive homes, there is the field of planning public buildings, including schools, hospitals, libraries, police and fire stations, city and county administration buildings.

A division of building materials would prove most helpful. The testing and rating of different products for definite uses would save the public many disappointments. War construction has profited by such a service.

The management of subdivisions, groups of houses for sale or rent, and the organization of coöperative ownerships are subjects on which most of us need education. On the financial side, it has been fairly well established that a rental or instalment on sale should not exceed a certain proportion of the family income. On the other hand, rental should not exceed a certain proportion of the cost of the house. A nice adjustment of these two factors is necessary if the occupant is to make a safe investment.

Coupled with living standards is the home-keeping problem. The Department of Agri-

culture has done much for the rural house-keeper. Entirely apart from the question of food, a Bureau of Housing might do much for the town and city housekeeper. As a matter of fact, it might render some service to rural home-makers in an entirely new field.

Over all the United States, in the larger communities, there is much divergence in building codes. In the small towns, building codes are usually conspicuous by their absence. A service on housing laws and building codes would save many unnecessary mistakes in local communities.

The Cost of Such a Department

The Department of Agriculture has an annual budget of some \$25,000,000. It labors to preserve the health of live-stock, to fight pests which prey on plants and animals, and in general to increase the prosperity of our rural population.

Shall we not be willing to spend as much on a department which would establish working relations between federal and local governments, which would contribute to the physical upbuilding of our cities and towns, and which would minister to human health, stimulate education to increase the efficiency of our citizens, and care for those unable to help themselves?

In the beginning so much would not be necessary. The technical divisions proposed could make a valuable contribution on an annual appropriation of some \$10,000,000, about a third of which is now expended in the Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education.

The local relations service could not be organized on a better plan than that established by the Smith-Lever bill which provided an initial expenditure of \$480,000, with annual additions of \$500,000 for a period of seven years, reaching a maximum of \$4,580,000—contingent on the payment of an equal sum by the State legislatures, or other State, county, college, local authorities or individual contributions within the State.

An initial appropriation of \$15,000,000 or thereabouts, with progressive increases for a period of years, would establish the service proposed for the Department of Civic Economy. On any conceivable basis the cost would be small in proportion to the returns bound to accrue in increased man and woman power during the trying years of readjustment to new international and industrial tasks set for us by world conditions.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

READERS of this REVIEW have been acquainted from month to month with the discussion of the League of Nations idea that has been steadily gaining intensity on both sides of the Atlantic. They are also familiar, through following the daily newspapers, with the ideals thus far enunciated by President Wilson and by the leaders of public opinion in Great Britain, France, and other European countries. The articles from which we shall make brief quotations on this and the following pages have to do less with the broad principles of international relationship than with the practical applications that are coming more and more under discussion, as the Peace Conference is assembling.

The views held by a large and growing section of American public opinion were clearly stated in an interview with President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, which first appeared in the London *Observer* of December 8th, last, and was reprinted in the December number of the *World Court* (New York).

Dr. Butler rejects at the outset that conception of the League of Nations which looks to the destruction of all the essential elements and characteristics of nationality, in order to bring about what he calls a "jelly-like internationalism without real nations." This, of course, is the Bolshevik conception. Over against this idea Dr. Butler sets the "crystal league," or true internationalism, in which each nation remains "self-conscious, self-determined, and ambitious in its own right and takes its place in a new international structure as an independent element—like a single crystal in an ordered group of crystals."

If this notion of a League of Nations were to be put into effect the League would become stronger, according as the nations composing it became severally stronger and more powerful. True internationalism, then, according to Dr. Butler, must be built on the union of strong and self-respecting nations,

while false internationalism would weaken or wholly destroy those nations that accept it.

Dr. Butler is not prepared, however, to go so far as those who urge that the example of the Constitution of the United States should be followed in organizing this league, that precise and definitive articles of government should be adopted, that an international legislature, executive, and judiciary, should be elected, and that the part of the nations in the new organization should be similar to that of the States in the United States.

He does not believe, in the first place, that the world's public opinion is ready to support so ambitious a program. And furthermore, if such a League of Nations should take the United States as its model, it would be lacking in unity of language, of tradition, and of legal system—three great advantages possessed by the United States, in spite of which our national history has not been free from serious difficulties. He decides that the true analogy between the United States and the League of Nations is found in the principle of federation, with legal and economic coöperation. American opinion, he says, is ready for this combination if it be guided by a policy of lofty patriotism, broad international service, and sincere democratic feeling.

What the American people are asking to-day is this: Given conditions as they now exist in the world, how shall we proceed to form an effective League of Nations? This question the head of the American government has not attempted to answer. The most practical procedure appears to be the following: the Allied Powers which have won the war have been for the purposes of war, and at the present moment are, a League of Nations. They have unified their international policies. They have put their armies and their navies under single commands; they have pooled all their resources in shipping, food, munitions, and credit. Let these nations, assembled by their representatives at Versailles, declare themselves to be a League of Nations organized for the precise purposes for which the war was fought, and with which their several people are entirely familiar, namely the definition and protection of standards of international



GETTING BOTH SIDES OF IT
(From the *Journal*, Sioux City)

obligations, and the right of the smaller and less numerous peoples to be free from attack or domination by their larger and more powerful neighbors.

As a beginning nothing more is needed. There is no necessity for an international constitution, no necessity for an elaborate international government machine, in order that the great enterprise may be launched. So far as these may be needed, they very well may come later.

The second step should be to invite those nations that have been neutral in the war to join the League on condition that they formally give adhesion to the three ends or purposes for which the League is organized.

The third step should be to invite the recently submerged and oppressed nationalities to present before the League their several cases for hearing and determination. When these have fully shown the basis of their geographical and political claims, and when the League of Nations has been satisfied as to the justice of these claims, then the petitioners should be invited to form their own government; and when they have done so, they should be admitted to the League of Nations as independent units.

British Support

Developing the idea of the utilization of what is already in existence as the nucleus of a League of Nations, the London *Times* of January 5th said in the course of a long and earnest editorial:

The foundations of a practical league of nations already exist, without speaking at the present writing of a league of nations in its political and military aspects. It is enough to say that relatively specialist bodies like the former Wheat Executive, now merged into inter-Allied Food Council, and like the inter-Allied Maritime Transport Board, should be preserved and extended to meet each pressing need as it arises or can clearly be foreseen.

Their functions cannot be entrusted to any single nation or individual. The mere task of rationing justly the food and raw materials of the

world during the next four or five years will be stupendous.

If it be not undertaken—nay, if it be not successfully accomplished—each allied nation will be compelled to look out for itself and scramble for its portion, probably an insufficient supply; but if matters like these are regulated in the same spirit of good-will and give and take as that which enabled the Allies so to coördinate their supplies and efforts as to win a mighty victory, then the habit of working together will grow and institution after institution will be evolved until the whole fabric of a working league of nations rises gradually into sight.

If any man imagines the British people are not deeply in earnest about this matter he gravely errs.

Colonel Roosevelt's Last Utterance on the Subject

Only three days before his death, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt dictated an article for the Kansas City *Star* in which he expressed with great clearness his views as to the practicability and limitations of a League of Nations. He said:

Mr. Taft has recently defined the purposes of the league and the limitations under which it would act, in a way that enables most of us to say we very heartily agree in principle with his theory, and can, without doubt, come to an agreement on specific details.

Would it not be well to begin with the league which we actually have in existence—the league of the Allies who have fought through this great war? Let us at the peace table see that real justice is done as among these Allies, and that while the sternest reparation is demanded from our foe for such horrors as those committed in Belgium, Northern France, Armenia, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, nothing should be done in the spirit of mere vengeance.

Then let us agree to extend the privileges of the league as rapidly as their conduct warrants it to other nations, doubtless discriminating between those who would have a guiding part in the league and the weak nations who should be entitled to the privileges of membership, but who would not be entitled to a guiding voice in the councils. Let each nation reserve to itself and for its own decision, and let it clearly set forth, questions which are nonjusticiable. Let nothing be done that will interfere with our preparing for our own defense by introducing a system of universal obligatory military training, modeled on the Swiss plan.

Finally, make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to take a position of an international Meddlesome Matty. The American people do not wish to go into an overseas war unless for a very great cause and where the issue is absolutely plain. Therefore, we do not wish to undertake the responsibility of sending our gallant young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in Central Europe, or in a war we do not approve of.

Moreover, the American people do not intend to give up the Monroe Doctrine. Let civilized Europe and Asia introduce some kind of police

system in the weak and disorderly countries at their thresholds. But let the United States treat Mexico as our Balkan Peninsula and refuse to allow European or Asiatic powers to interfere on this continent in any way that implies permanent or semi-permanent possession. Every one of our Allies will with delight grant this request if President Wilson chooses to make it, and it will be a great misfortune if it is not made.

I believe that such an effort, made moderately and sanely but sincerely and with utter scorn for words that are not made good by deeds, will be productive of real and lasting international good.

The Viewpoint of H. G. Wells

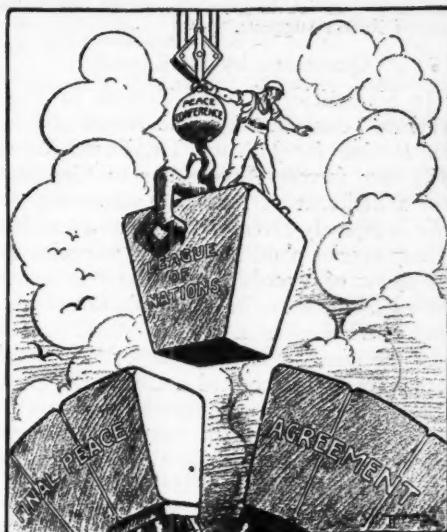
Among British utterances on the subject one of the most frank and unreserved is that of Mr. H. G. Wells in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for November 23, last. He declares that what most sensible people desire is either a strong League of Nations or no League of Nations at all.

If the beast of modern war is to be chained it must have a chain to hold it and not a pack-thread. The whole drift of recent discussion of the League of Nations lies in the direction of estimating what weight of chain is absolutely necessary, and what we must do to get that chain.

For most of those who have recently come into the movement, it is not a question of whether we will have a world league or not, but what price in change, effort and independence we shall have to pay for it. A restoration of the crazy political world order of 1914, of a patchwork of absolutely independent sovereign empires, competitive, disingenuous and suspicious—and so compelled to be armed to the teeth, uncontrollable by any general understanding—is, in view of the steady development of the means of destruction, the one prospect we cannot endure.

Mr. Wells reasons that if the League of Nations is to be a reality, it must have sufficient power to inquire into, restrain, and suppress armaments on land and sea. Such a world control of armaments implies some sort of pooling of the naval, military, and air forces of the world under some sort of world council in which the states of the world will be represented according to their strength and will. This, Mr. Wells admits, is going beyond a league. It is an approach to world federation. A world control of militarism will lead to a world control of shipping and of the distribution of staples, if not to a general control of international trade. To confirm this proposition, Mr. Wells refers to the experience of the Allies in the war. Mr. Wells closes his article on an optimistic note:

From being a proposed addendum to human life, in the form of a court of jurists, the League of Nations has now become the outline of a broad and hopeful scheme for the reconstruction



LAYING THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH
(From the Central Press Association, Cleveland)

of international relationships upon a sound and enduring basis. It is a new world policy. It is a scheme that may inaugurate a new and happier phase in the troubled history of mankind. But at every step it demands sacrifices of prepossessions.

There is no good in clinging to ideals of a world of unrestricted free trade and *laissez faire* if the world controls of the league of nations are to come into existence; it is equally unreasonable to dream of schemes of a self-contained British Empire, taxing the foreigner and economically hostile to all foreigners, including those of France, Italy and the United States.

We must cease to think imperially as we have had to cease thinking parochially; and we must think now in terms of the peace of the world. The League of Nations points straight to a pooling of empires, and it is no good blinking the fact. And, since it cannot operate in an atmosphere tainted by suspicion, the League of Nations demands for its effective operation a change in our diplomatic methods.

The world has become too multitudinous for secret understandings. In this swarming world of half-taught crowds, with its imminent danger from class hostility and distrust, governments must say plainly what they mean and stand by their declarations unambiguously.

It may at times be difficult and tedious to inform a whole population upon the values of some international situation, but the danger of misconception and spasmodic crowd action outweighs the desire of the expert for uncriticized freedom. There must be an end to secret diplomacy. Nations must understand their responsibilities.

The welfare of the world requires that the very children in the schools should be taught the broad outlines of the treaties that bind their nations into the mosaic of the world's peace. They have to grow up understanding and consenting, if

only on account of the grim alternative the precedent of Russia suggests.

Questions by an Expert

In his article on "The Entente of Free Nations," contributed to the *North American Review* for January, Dr. David Jayne Hill, our former Ambassador to Germany and a diplomat of long and varied experience, purposely refrains from the discussion of any special plan, but directs attention to the course of procedure most likely to secure the ends which are in the minds of all who hold convictions upon the subject. Dr. Hill puts the question to Americans, What legal forms are to be accepted by us in the great process of creating an international government which in important matters will supersede our own? For that is what is implied in the League of Nations? He says:

I shall not attempt to enter here upon any analysis of the various ingenious drafts of an international constitution, as the fundamental law regulating the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of such an international government—a government which, within its sphere, will control the governments of the nations that subscribe to it. One thing, however, is plain, that to possess any efficiency these powers must detract in important ways and in large degree from the powers of the national governments and involve a considerable sacrifice of their sovereignty. It is true, on the one hand, that sovereignty in what are called the "democracies" has been gradually transferred from a personal absolute monarch to the people, or to some portion of them; and it is also true, on the other hand, that the conception of sovereignty in constitutional States has been to some degree modified by the recognized limitation of the irresponsible use of force and the addition of ethical elements in its exercise. In brief, no people can rightly claim to possess rights in proportion to their power, and sovereignty cannot, in a juristic sense, be longer regarded as strictly absolute. In every state founded upon the rights of persons, which is the basis claimed by democracy, the rights of the whole people cannot exceed what is necessary to the maintenance of the right of each.

Japan's Attitude

The League of Nations is discussed from a Japanese viewpoint by Dr. T. Iyenaga in the *Outlook* (New York) for January 15. This writer is convinced that the principles of the proposed covenant among the nations would be fully acceptable to Japan, because they would guarantee the most essential of her national aspirations—territorial integrity and sphere of influence, a fair opportunity for economic growth, and an enduring peace.

Dr. Iyenaga has no fear that the proposed League of Nations would militate in any

way against Japan's leadership in the Far East, but he does see in the institution of such a league a great stimulus to America's interest in her relations with Japan which would result in the disappearance of any lurking spirit of race discrimination.

Senator Lodge Sees Obstacles

In a speech delivered in the United States Senate on December 21, last, the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge outlined some of the difficulties that will have to be met in providing the framework of such an organization. These are a few of the questions that he put to the advocates of a League of Nations:

What nations are to be members of the league? Is Germany to be one of the members? If so, when? How are these nations thus joined in a league to vote in determining the operations of the league? Theoretically, in international law every independent sovereign nation is the equal of any other nation. Are the small nations to have an equal vote with the great nations in the league, a vote equal to that of the United States or England or France? I saw that there occurred in New York a few days ago a meeting of representatives, so called, of some small nations who demanded this equality of voting power. If this were agreed to, the small nations could determine the action of the league, and if the league had an international force behind it they could order that force where they pleased and put it under any command they pleased, which might give rise to complications.

If nations are to vote in the league on a democratic basis, then their voting power must be determined by population. Here, too, some curious possibilities arise, not without a certain intricacy. The population of China is, roughly, four times that of the United States, and this system would give China four times the vote of the United States in the league. If England is to have the right to cast the vote of her possessions, India alone would give her from three to four times as many votes as the United States and ten times the vote of France.

All the plans which have been put forward tentatively for a League of Nations, so far as I know, involve the creation of a court. We must remember that we have carried voluntary arbitration as far as it can practically go. Assuming that there is a distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable questions, who is to decide whether a question is justiciable or not? Is it to be done by the league, voting in some manner hitherto undefined, or is each nation to decide for itself whether a question affecting its own interest is or is not justiciable?

Let me give an example to make my meaning clearer. We have recently purchased the Virgin Islands. Suppose that that purchase had not been effected, and that Denmark undertook to sell those islands to Germany or some other great power. Is that a justiciable question? If it is and it went before a court there can be no doubt that any court would be obliged to hold that

Denmark had the right to sell those islands to whom she pleased. In the past the United States would never have permitted those islands to pass out of Denmark's hands into any other hands, because we consider their possession of vital importance to our safety and to the protection of the Panama routes.

The same will be true in regard to Magdalena Bay—a case in which the Senate passed a resolution, with unanimity, I think, stating that on the plain doctrine of self-preservation we could not allow Magdalena Bay, or any other similar position of advantage, to be turned into a naval base or military post by another power. Would that be justiciable? And if not justiciable, then is the League of Nations to compel, nevertheless, its submission?

Let us be honest with ourselves. It is easy to talk about a League of Nations, and the beauty and the necessity of peace, but the hard, practical demand is: Are you ready to put your soldiers and your sailors at the disposition of other nations? If you are not, there will be no power of enforcing the decrees of the international court or the international legislature or the international executive, or whatever may be established.

Honest British Doubts

The spirit of British dissent from a League of Nations program finds expression in an article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* for September last by J. B. Firth, a member of the editorial staff of the London *Daily Telegraph*. This writer asks:

What is the real, permanent, instinctive feeling of insular Britons towards Alliances and Leagues? When the danger from which we have escaped is but an evil memory, when the peril ahead seems faint and distant, when the enemy is fawning and protesting and "Kamerading," and insidiously getting back to his foothold, what will be the instinct of the average Briton? If someone astutely revives the once popular cry of "Splendid Isolation," will not his heart leap up at the sound? If there is any prospect of war and British interests are not directly and vitally concerned, and if the League of Nations desires the British Government not merely to use the British Fleet—that very likely would not be unpopular—but to dispatch a military expedition on a large scale involving conscription, what then? Who would be the first to protest if not the Socialists and Radicals who are now so hot and strong for the League? These surely are fair questions. Great Britain, naturally, has always been the most insularly minded Power in Europe. She has from time to time been the backbone of Continental alliances, but always when the direct danger to her has blown over she has relapsed to her ancient insular mood. This has often been made a ground of reproach to her; it has been said that she is a bad European. The Liberal tradition especially has almost always been a non-European tradition. Is the country now ripe for a permanent change? He is bold, indeed, who would say so. We shall be told, of course, that the new internationalism will make all the difference and that a new era is to begin after the war which will continue

even when the miseries of the present time begin to be forgotten. They are happy who believe it; they will be foolish who trust in it.

A French Statement of Requirements

The League of Nations is philosophically and interestingly discussed in a recent issue of the *Revue de Paris*, by Bernard Lavergne. He points out the requirements that are essential to constitute a nation, the most elementary being its capacity for self-government—that is, to perform the four essential functions: maintenance of public order, legislation, government exploitation of the natural resources of the country, creation of public works.

It is very desirable, therefore, that the states that may be formed to-morrow should possess a living strength greater than that of the smallest European states, such as Portugal, Greece, Norway, Denmark. The future is not for small political units. It is contradictory, indeed absurd, to claim, as an abstract principle, national autonomy for all peoples, even those incapable of self-government. The nations are not alike, nor even comparable to one another.

After a lengthy analysis of conditions essential to a League of Nations the writer proceeds:

Under penalty of complete failure, the League of Nations cannot embrace all the existing states of the earth. But if we ask ourselves which states ought to be excluded difficulties arise, which, without some such study as the above, remain insoluble. With such an analysis, on the contrary, the whole problem is made clear. It becomes evident that those states alone that have reached the highest degree of autonomy may claim to form a part of the League of Nations. But it is not sufficient to exclude the states with a precarious or low degree of independence—states colonizable or colonized.

The component nations must not only uphold the principle of nationalities but must have applied it precently on their own soil. The laborer is known by his work. How can a nation claim the right to enter the league while its territory contains alien populations demanding their liberation? . . . The knotty points of the principle of nationalities ought to be settled before, and not after, the formation of the league. No question, evidently, is as grave as the determination of the boundaries between competing nations. If, unfortunately, the problem should be left antecedently unsolved, it would, by the nature of the case, provoke acutest differences, nay, even internal war, among the members of the league.

Finally, another requisite must be stated. The states effectively autonomous, such as we have defined them, belong to two distinct types, according as the governing body is composed of the élite or of the body of the people: aristocratic states on the one hand, democratic on the other.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

BY way of suggesting to England a compromise arrangement representing a considerable concession to the principle of the freedom of the seas, Professor Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton, writing in the *North American Review*, proposes the following as a possible plan of action:

First, a great limitation of building programs. Secondly, a general curtailment of existing armaments on a scale sufficient to leave the British Empire secure—a matter of which Great Britain herself would have to be the judge. Thirdly, a radical remodeling of the rules of practise with reference to contraband, involving the outright abolition of the right of destruction and the substitution (worked out by Great Britain in the present war) of preéemption for confiscation. Fourthly, the abolition of the belligerent right of blockade. Fifthly, the retention of the belligerent right of capture of enemy's commerce as defined by the Declaration of Paris.

The advantages of such an arrangement are fairly apparent. Great Britain would lose her right of blockade, it is true, but as has been already indicated she could probably never again hope to distend this right as she has done in the present war. On the other hand, because she is an island, she must always remain most vulnerable to the exercise of blockade by an enemy. Again, the appeal which the suggested compromise would make to neutral interests would guarantee its observance in any ordinary war, in which a limited number of belligerents would be bidding for neutral favor. For while the su-

perior naval Power could speedily expel its enemy's shipping from the sea, the gap would be soon filled by neutral shipping; and by the same sign the control which superior naval strength exerts to-day even in peace time over a rival's commerce would be appreciably diminished. There is one point at which the arrangement just outlined might be improved from the point of view both of the British and the neutral interest, and that would be by adopting the British suggestion at the Second Hague Conference to throw overboard the whole doctrine of contraband. This, however, is a suggestion to which our own Government would be most likely to file a *non possumus*. Not to give the thing too fine a point, we have always to remember that to the southward we have a dangerous and treacherous neighbor. Should we become involved in war with Mexico, we should hardly relish the prospect of having to stand by and see other countries stock our enemy with munitions.

Professor Corwin directs attention to the obvious difference between President Wilson's picture of a League of Nations and the British view. The one looks forward to "a community of power" which should begin to function as soon as peace is made. The other assumes that for some years to come, at least, international affairs will be subject to the Allied nations. Professor Corwin himself believes that it will be many years "before the suggestion of a real internationalization of the seas can seem other than chimerical. Meantime, however, there can be a measure of disarmament at sea—provided, of course, there is also an equivalent disarmament on land; and further a recasting of the rules of naval warfare, and these three points sum up what is to-day demanded in the name of freedom of the seas."

America's Merchant Marine

Mr. Bernard M. Baker writes in the *Atlantic* for January on "Freedom of the Seas and our Merchant Marine." At the outset Mr. Baker gives his own definition of freedom of the seas, which is quite independent of those put forth by the international law experts. Freedom of the seas, according to Mr. Baker, means "the control of a merchant marine by the Allied nations of the world, in such wise as not to cripple the operation of the merchant marine of any single nation."

In the formation of a maritime League of Nations Mr. Baker believes that the United States should take the lead. The initial step, he thinks, should be taken by the President, who should issue an invitation to all



NO MUZZLE FOR HIM
(The guardian of his life, property and the freedom of the seas for the world)
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

the maritime powers of the world to send their representatives to an international conference for the purpose of "concerted action to insure the literal freedom of the seas—by force if necessary—and of establishing such a court of arbitration of foreign transportation interests as would be just and fair between all countries."

One of the most important obligations falling upon such a court would be the division of tonnage upon a fair and equitable basis, each nation to share according to its need and condition.

To accomplish this, the United States might have to give up some of its cherished ideals. We could not expect to secure and hold all the business of the maritime world. We should be called upon to remember, as other nations would be called upon to remember, that the life of all is bound up irrevocably in the life of each; and, strange as the suggestion sounds with the roar

of battle still echoing in our ears, we and the other participating countries would be reminded that the Golden Rule may still be applied as a sound business principle.

It must be remembered that reciprocity is still the life of trade. There must be no "dead bottoms." If England has need of the products of Argentina and the United States has not, and if England has as good facilities for exporting to Argentina the things that Argentina requires, then England must be allotted her share, or more, of the Argentina trade, that her bottoms may be filled both ways. Otherwise the United States sends her exports to Argentina, and her ships return empty, because she has no need for the Argentine exports; and Argentina is soon "milked dry."

It should be the duty of the Maritime League of Nations to discuss such complications as arise, to equalize exports, imports, and transports; to direct the placing of ships where they may accomplish the greatest results; to standardize operation, speed, and general conditions existing in the different countries forming the League.

TRIBUTES TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT

EELSEWHERE in this number of the REVIEW the reader will find specially contributed articles on Colonel Roosevelt from the pens of Major George Haven Putnam, Mr. V. Stefansson, and the editor of this magazine, together with reprints of a most interesting letter, addressed to this REVIEW by President Roosevelt on the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth and a pen-picture of Roosevelt as a Presidential candidate, written and published during the campaign of 1904.

Immediately after Colonel Roosevelt's death at Oyster Bay on January 6, countless tributes to his character and career appeared in the daily and weekly press of two continents. From these we have selected for reproduction a few that seemed, for one or another reason, especially significant. The London *Daily Telegraph*, a representative journal, said on January 7:

In Theodore Roosevelt the world loses one of its elemental figures, one of those men who not more than twice or thrice in a generation strike the imagination of mankind as personifying in a supreme degree some human force or quality that is at work in the history of time. Just as William II made himself the embodiment in all contemporary minds of the aggressive ambition, the restlessness, the troubled egotism, the boastful militarism, the blind self-admiration of Modern Germany, Roosevelt represented to them the volcanic energy, the democratic spirit, the unclouded self-confidence, the fresh enthusiasm of the great people which came to its full stature during the years of his political ascendancy.

British appreciation of Roosevelt's stature as a world figure was further emphasized in the following editorial paragraphs appearing in the *Morning Post* (London):

Roosevelt's tribute to the results of British government abroad was as generous as it was welcome; nor are we in this country likely to forget that he, first among the leaders of public opinion in America, recognized the justice of the allied cause in this war and sought to enlist in that cause for which he gave a son—the active support of the American Republic. Assuredly it may be said of him that he has left his mark upon his time, and that, as a representative of a great movement or tendency, his influence is destined to survive him.

In large measure, he did for the United States what Joseph Chamberlain did for the British Empire. In his personality he embodied a development of the national consciousness, a development which, whatever happens, can never be extinguished. It is not every voice that carries across the Atlantic, but Roosevelt's undoubtedly did. It was listened to almost as attentively in Europe as in America, and its familiar downright accents will be missed. The world can ill spare any of its truly big men just now, and even the strongest opponents of Roosevelt's policies will readily admit that Theodore Roosevelt was a big man.

On the part of the American press, partisan distinctions were for the time being forgotten in the general expressions of grief during the days following Colonel Roosevelt's death. In the *Outlook* (New York) the venerable Dr. Lyman Abbott, who had been intimately associated with Colonel Roosevelt for several years, declared that no man in

the history of America, not even Abraham Lincoln, did so much as Theodore Roosevelt to expedite the era of self-government:

The appeal of Mr. Roosevelt to the American people for justice, equal rights, and a fair opportunity for all gives symmetry and cohesion to his varied administrations as Civil Service Commissioner, Police Commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, Governor of New York, and President of the United States. It made him as bitter enemies in influential quarters as any public man in American politics has ever known; but it also made him the most widely admired and best-loved American of his time.

And it did more. It went far toward converting American politics from a trade to a profession; it inspired his colleagues and his party associates; it summoned into political activity followers in both parties and in all sections of the country. Men had thought of politics as a traffic which no man could enter without dishonor. His life proved to them that the highest success is possible to honor, courage, and purity if mated to ability. It raised the ideals and the standards of public life for the entire American people. Its influence in creating the genuine and self-sacrificing patriotism which called the Nation into this world war with a voice which love of ease and dread of war could not resist cannot be estimated. And it has done more than any other one influence, if not more than all other influences combined, to inspire the citizens of this country with a real faith in the intelligence and virtue of their fellow-men, and so in the practicability of that self-government which is the foundation of a true democracy because of a true brotherhood of man.

Probably most Americans would assent to the general fairness of the estimate given by the *New Republic* (New York):

Theodore Roosevelt's death removes the one powerful personal influence in American politics, except, of course, that of President Wilson. His distinguishing quality among the Americans of his own generation was an abounding energy which required for its satisfaction both great variety and exuberant vigor of expression. He was almost alone among his contemporaries in the extraordinary diversity of his interests. He was at once a man of letters, an insatiable reader, a brilliant talker, a naturalist, a sportsman and a political leader. He found time to pursue all these activities with so much success that they effectively contributed to the vivid impression made by his personality. But exceptional as was the variety of his activities, the sheer vigor which he imparted to them was still more exceptional.

Whatever he did, and no matter whether he was the head of the Government or the head of the opposition, he always set the pace. It was his joy and his pride to work harder, to play harder, to fight harder than any associate or any competitor. In fact, his energy was so strenuous that it seemed to him wasted unless it expended itself in overcoming a stiff resistance. Only in combat did he reach the summit of his personal expression. When asked before an election to express

some opinion as to its probable results, he always answered: "I am a warrior and not a prophet." He was a warrior on behalf of what he believed to be and usually were morally decisive causes. The most poignant tragedy of his life was that he was unable to fight sword in hand in the war which raised one of the clearest and greatest moral issues in history.

It was as a warrior on behalf of moral causes that he made his most substantial contribution to American history. Associated from the beginning with the reforming activities of his own contemporaries, he was the first of our political leaders who dared to remain a reformer after he reached the White House. In fact, he nationalized the American reform movement and by nationalizing transfigured it. He divined that American national fulfilment had come to depend not on the preservation of institutions but on the cure of abuses, not on conservatism but on progress.

The *Bellman* (Minneapolis) spoke for the people of the Middle West, where Colonel Roosevelt's figure was almost as familiar as on the streets of New York:

His leadership, although not always followed by the majority of his countrymen, was universally regarded as a healthful and invigorating influence in the national existence, and there is absolutely no one remaining in public life who can take the place he occupied in the hearts of the people.

No matter what Colonel Roosevelt said or did in his impetuous, outspoken, belligerent way, and however his expressed opinions might fail of general acceptance, there was that quality in his character which made him strong in the affections of his fellow-citizens, and to the end he held a unique and wholly exceptional position in this respect. His distinguished and remarkable career, his manliness, his force and courage, the great versatility of his accomplishments, his quick, eager, restless temperament, his lust of achievement and the ability which he displayed in all that he undertook, these and the manifold other traits which were exhibited in his complex nature, all served to make him a popular hero, of whom the American people were both fond and proud, however they might differ from him in certain of his expressed convictions.

Tributes from Individuals

Former President Taft telegraphed to Mrs. Roosevelt:

The country can ill afford in this critical period of history to lose one who has done and could in the next decade have done, so much for it and humanity. We have lost a great patriotic American, a great world figure, the most commanding personality in our public life since Lincoln. I mourn his going as a personal loss.

One of the most interesting of the personal tributes was that paid by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University:

My own association with Mr. Roosevelt goes back to the earliest days of his public activity



© Paul Thompson

THE BURIAL OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY

(The funeral of the former President was of the simplest character. After brief services at the home and at the village church, the body was borne to the burial place which Colonel Roosevelt had himself selected. The little cemetery is situated on a hill commanding a fine view of Long Island Sound and of Sagamore Hill, the Roosevelt residence. In the picture Capt. Archibald Roosevelt and other members of the family are in the left foreground)

here in New York, and it was my lot at many times during his public career, particularly while he was Governor and President, to be intimately associated with his work and policies. When the full story of his public activity comes to be written it will read like a romance, for, long as Mr. Roosevelt had been before the public, there were many of his striking characteristics of which the public knew little or nothing. There has rarely been in modern life a more many-sided personality or more omnivorous reader both of books and of men. What I think of most to-day, however, is the fact that this busy, active, many-sided life is ended at the early age of sixty years and just at a time when the uncompromising and fearless Americanism for which Mr. Roosevelt stood is most needed in dealing with the national and international problems that multiply in front of us. There is an American solution of our national problems, and an un-American solution of them; there is an American treatment of our international responsibilities and opportunities, and an un-American treatment of them. No one can doubt where the great influence of Mr. Roosevelt would have been exerted as to either could he have lived through the three or four critical years upon which we have just now entered.

The testimony of Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, the paleontologist, confirmed in a striking way the judgment expressed in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Mr. Stefansson, the Arctic explorer. Dr. Osborn said in a newspaper statement:

Colonel Roosevelt was one of my dearest friends. I had known him since he was a boy. In addition to that, his death is a great professional loss, much more than the world may realize at once, because his political career so overshadowed all other phases of his activity. Nat-

ural history was really his great gift. It was his first love as a boy, and he turned to it again in his late years. It was as well his favorite diversion. The story is told of how he and Sir Edward Grey stood once in a forest in England when they were supposed to be discussing world politics. Instead they were exchanging stories about the songs of birds. While he was in the White House he always welcomed such men as John Burroughs and other naturalists, big game hunters, and others who loved the out of doors. A feature that made his work in Africa and South America so successful was his marvelous memory, which was absolutely encyclopedic. During his last few months in the White House, and in the few he spent in Oyster Bay, in preparation for the African journey, I sent him the Natural History Museum's whole library on Africa—a very complete collection—and he absorbed the whole thing, reading many books a week. As a result, when he got there he knew the whole natural history of the country, and his work was a most important contribution to science.

Said R. J. Cunningham, the famous African hunter, who was in charge of Colonel Roosevelt's expedition to East Africa, to a New York Times correspondent:

You can't be for a year in the wilds of Africa with a man without getting to understand him thoroughly. I have taken many well-known people on hunting trips, but I have never found any other so easy to get along with, and I have never known any other man who, by his character, made every man in his service as anxious to do the best possible for him.

He obeyed my orders implicitly. He might question them afterward but never at the time. Sometimes he did not understand them, but he was always prompt in observing them.

PROGRESS IN BUILDING CONCRETE SHIPS

THE début of the ocean-going concrete ship was reported in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for January, 1918, pp. 83-84. Since that time the exigencies of the war have stimulated the production of these novel craft, and in this country their development has been in the hands of a special Concrete Ship Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. "When the armistice was signed," says the *Engineering News-Record* (New York), in an editorial review of this subject, "the Government itself had over a hundred ships and barges under contract, one American vessel had finished a 12,000-mile voyage ending at New York, and millions of dollars had been put into yards where vessels from 7500-ton ocean-going tankers down to 500-ton canal barges were being built."

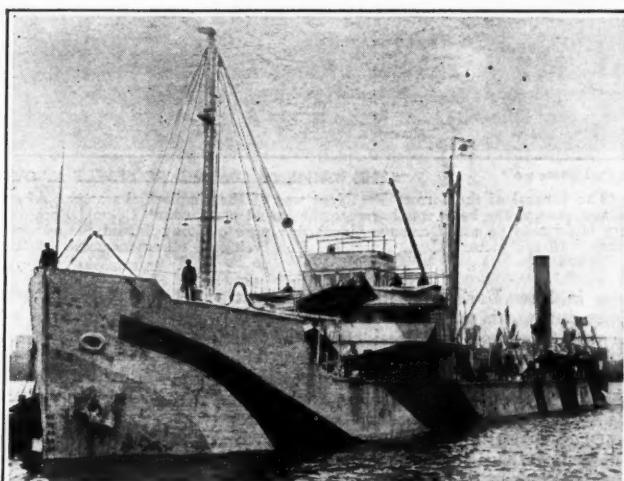
The same article gives an instructive account of the progress that has been made in designing and building concrete ships and discusses the still unsettled question of ability of such vessels to compete commercially with wooden and steel vessels of common construction.

Ship lines in the early ships, particularly in the *Faith*, were very crude. The opposite extreme was reached in the first Government ship, the *Atlantis*, launched last month at Brunswick, Ga., which takes on the appearance of a yacht and which was difficult to build. Between the two extremes lie the latest Government ships which have sufficient curving of the lines to present a good appearance, but which are not particularly complicated in form.

It is in construction of the concrete ship that most has been learned. It can be definitely said, for instance, that the claim of the violent advocates of a year ago, that no skilled workmen would be required on a concrete ship and therefore it could readily be built anywhere with little difficulty, is not true. No one who has gone through the first few months of building one of the large concrete ships will deny that the work requires the highest type of skill, and that even the training gained on reinforced-concrete buildings is inadequate—because, primarily, of the greater accuracy required in placing the steel and forms and of the greater congestion of the steel in the forms. A concrete ship does not require as many kinds of skilled labor as does the

steel ship, but the labor that it does require must be of the highest type.

Several technical problems have been solved during the year. A notable innovation is the process of mechanical hammering, for placing the concrete in the forms. This is done by means of the air or electric hammer, introduced by the Concrete Ship Section, which, it is said, "performs almost in-



THE CONCRETE SHIP "FAITH"

credible feats in leading the concrete into the corners of the forms." A new mixture has also been introduced, so light that the concrete thus produced gives a ratio of carrying-capacity to dead-weight only slightly below that of the steel ship—so close, in fact, as to bring the two types into competition.

So far as performance of the concrete ship is concerned, our whole dependence is on the freighter *Faith*, which was dry-docked in New York in November after a voyage down the Pacific to South America, up to New Orleans, thence to Havana, and up to New York. Barring the rather serious cracks in the deck where a winch was seated in a place not intended for it, the ship, to all outward appearances, is intact. All rumors to the contrary notwithstanding, her hull is free from anything but minor hair cracks, and the outside surface, which has been subjected to sea-water action for nine months, is as smooth and unpitted a condition as any concrete in the dry air of the interior of a building.

Concrete shipbuilders are learning their trade in the hardest of schools. They cannot produce

as efficiently or as cheaply now as they will after their first few units are turned out. It is going to take the backing of the Government or of courageous spirits such as those who financed the *Faith* to continue the big concrete ship as a commercial proposition, but the future is bright

for any such venture. For the small barge, car-float or lighter, on the other hand, the field seems more immediately open. A number of contractors have learned to build such boats, and their experience should be worth much in reducing costs to a competitive basis.

THE RECENT RISE IN SILVER

AN economic question of growing importance, namely, the recent great rise in silver, is the subject of an article by the eminent French sociologist, M. Raphael-Georges Lévy, in a late issue of the *Révue des Deux Mondes*.

Silver, fifteen and a half parts of which, by our French law of 1803, had a value corresponding to that of one part of gold, and the quotation of which had in 1902 fallen so low that it took 42 grams of silver to purchase one gram of gold—this pariah white metal has risen again! When the war began, a gram of white metal was worth only about 8 centimes; it rose in 1915 to 10, in 1916 to 15 centimes, and in October, 1918, was worth about 17 centimes. That is, it is approaching the price of 20 centimes assigned to it by the law of 1803, which authorized the free coinage of gold and silver.

Silver has remounted to a market price it has not known since 1875. It has looked for a while as if it might regain the price it had just previous to 1870, that is to say, parity with gold in the celebrated ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. There suddenly rises before us the memory of the hot monetary controversies which filled the last quarter of the nineteenth century, agitated Europe and America, and formed the principal issue in two Presidential campaigns in the United States; which controversies we thought engulfed forever in a past which very few of us expected to see revived! The most fervid partisans of the white metal (or rather of bimetallism) never in their most ambitious dreams imagined so triumphant a return to fortune for their favorite . . . Certain prophets maintained that it is not impossible that the parity between gold and silver—that is, the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1—may be left far behind and that in the near future the price of a kilogram of silver may rise to levels at which not $15\frac{1}{2}$, but 15, 14, or even 12 grams of silver will constitute the price of one gram of gold.

The rise in silver was not really accelerated until 1916 . . . During the last months of 1914, and in 1915, the price did not exceed 27 pence; but in the middle of 1917 a rapid rise became evident, which for a short while carried the ounce to 55 pence. At present . . . it stands at about 49, a new level about two-thirds of that before the war.

This rise entailed a phenomenon evident in many quarters . . . The governments have wanted to intervene and assure themselves as far as possible a monopoly in silver. There is now talk of *pourparlers* between Washington and Great Britain for the purpose of procuring for the lat-

ter country the white metal she needs in Europe but more especially in India. All the American production of this metal may be requisitioned at about a dollar an ounce.

Normally there is of course a relative saturation of most countries by silver money. But the war has changed this.

Among most of the belligerents the nominal value of silver moneys existed *de facto* or *de jure*; gold was retained in the banks of issue, which have multiplied their paper currency; free commerce in gold has been suspended, and its exportation forbidden. Silver coins and those of baser metal remain the only metallic money in circulation. The public has seized on these, less to use them as instruments of payment than to lay them by. This hoarding applied not only to the moneys that have kept their full legal-tender value; but also to the small change with which according to law the debtor cannot discharge any but small debts. Two-franc and one-franc and 50-centime pieces disappear from our circulation as soon as they are turned into it. However, the government persists in coining considerable quantities of them. . . .

The Bank of France has congratulated itself every time a diminution has been observed in its silver store. We recoined our silver pieces into small change and expedited it into our African possessions.

Especially in Europe, newly coined silver money was rapidly withdrawn from circulation by the public, which during the war has also hoarded paper money on a large scale. But the French Treasury can only lose by the continued coinage of silver, the expense of which increases with the rise in the price of the metal.

Furthermore, if the Treasury wished some day to demonetize a part of its stock of silver, it would have no guarantee that the metal would return at the purchase price—which might inflict considerable loss upon the Treasury.

. . . We see no benefit accruing from such operations, but on the contrary a very probable loss. Now the war is over, our circulation will be saturated by pieces of silver money which will burst forth in great floods from their hiding places and arouse disquietude similar to that of a quarter-century ago, when there was an excessive quantity of silver in the vaults of the Treasury and in public circulation.

The partisans of the continued coinage of silver

allege that it is good not to remain under a paper-money régime, but to keep in the public's hands an appreciable quantity of metallic money. We reply that this quantity does exist; but that the larger part of it is in hiding; it is consequently useless to try to fill voids that as often empty themselves. . . .

If there is need of increasing the quantity of metal in circulation, that metal should be gold and not silver. On the threshold of peace the great nations of the world will not depart from the long-accustomed monometallic standard.

But the matter is complicated by the intervention of the governments, which from the very outbreak of the war put embargoes on the yellow metal, forbade the disposal by banks of their gold reserves, put a stop to commerce in gold, and every way sought to hold and increase their own stores of gold. This they did to insure the necessary issue of large quantities of paper money.

The present destinies of the precious metals, which the war has influenced in opposite ways,

are strange to consider. Silver being free practically nowhere, is subject to the same laws as ordinary merchandise, and to the shifting of supply and demand. The need for small change having augmented since 1914, we have witnessed a rise in silver doubling its former price. Certain governments have tried to tax it as they taxed other products; but by this time the rise had fairly established itself. As for gold—the money metal *par excellence*, the legal center of all the gamut of values attributable to human possessions—it continues to serve as the standard in the world's principal monetary unions: although the intervention of governments has obstructed the gold market. The producers are no longer able to make the sale price equal to production cost, and humanity is likely to suffer indefinitely an inability to exploit a metal which it needs, just because it will not pay beyond a self-imposed price for it.

The situation appears bizarre but is in reality profoundly logical, and a great lesson may be learned from it, which is, that the governments of the world ought by all possible means to put a stop to the present paper inflation to which, under the pressure of necessity, they have been applying themselves.

WASHINGTON'S SWEDISH ANCESTRY

ON December 11, 1782, the *Societas Scandinaviensis* gave a farewell dinner in Philadelphia to the Swede, Count von Fersen, who later on conducted the unfortunate flight of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, ending in their arrest at Varennes, and to the Swedo-Finn, Count von Sprengtporten. Both these men had performed valuable military services in the Revolution and had already received from Washington himself the order of the Cincinnati for their valor. At this dinner Washington acknowledged his pleasure at being present among people of the blood of his forefathers.

According to *Sweden-America*, the organ of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce here, genealogists claim descent for Washington from a family which left Scania, Sweden, at the time of the Norse migrations to Britain. They were the Wassings, founders of a community in Durham County, England, whose name passed through the variations of Wassingtun, Wessyngton, Wissington, Weissington, Wuestington, Whessington, Wasengtone, and Wassington, to become finally the cognomen Washington.

That Swedes should lay claim to Washington may surprise most Americans; however, the Scanians, in this country at least, celebrate the birthday of Washington as that

of a blood-brother—a prerogative to which they no doubt are well entitled in the light of the proverbially truthful Washington's own asseveration of his Swedish origin.

Swedish admiration for America and American statesmen has been second only to the French.

Swedish literature contains many poems on American themes, not a few on the heroic figures of Washington and Lincoln. The best known Swedish verses on Washington were written by Archbishop J. O. Wallin (1779-1839). In these he bids the Swede drink a cup of kindness to the memory of the then recently deceased Father of his Country, and continues:

Where high in honor's Pantheon
Thine own Gustavus Vasa dwelleth,
There sets he his great Washington;
With equal pride each bosom swelleth.

Commenting at length on the venerable Washington's rôle in America's successful war for freedom, he concludes:

Our thoughts go pilgrims to his tomb,
The hero's grave wherein he lieth;
No fragrance there from fragile bloom
Distils, nor weeping willow sigheth;
There hovers zeal for law and state,
And liberal humanity,
And heritage of lasting hate
For violence and vanity!

EDMOND ROSTAND

THE recent death of the famous French dramatist lends a vivid interest to studies of his achievements. A most discriminating, analytical article, by Alfred Poizat, which appeared in a late issue of *Le Correspondant* (Paris), can hardly fail to hold one's interested attention. The writer lauds warmly and generously, but is equally outspoken in characterizing the shortcomings of Rostand's productions. We give below some of the salient points of his critique.

Rostand had—says the writer—the opportunity and the genius to sound in days of national discouragement the clear song of the Gallic race—not of France, which, indeed, represents something more than was voiced by "Cyrano," the noble, upright, controlled genius characterizing men such as Foch, Pétain, Descartes, Pascal, Molière.

The prodigious success of "Cyrano de Bergerac" (published in 1898) was the explosion of a literary Boulangism. It represented in the domain of poetry one of the many crises incited by a patriotism which refused to accept defeat. A latent disquiet concerning its politics and literature agitated the France of that time. Naturalism oppressed it; the Decadents and Symbolists brought no welcome message. However it be, the triumph of "Cyrano" was a desperate reaction of literary nationalism, a revenge of all the poets robbed of their renown by the advent of the Symbolists. Romanticism, which was thought to be dead, revived with an unparalleled vigor—at least so it was claimed.

Success imposes obligations. Thenceforth he was shackled. He knew that people were on the alert for his slightest weakening. He had, at all costs, to achieve material success. There was at the time a strong Napoleonic movement, maintained by the works of Frédéric Masson. He chose, therefore, "l'Aiglon," a poor subject for verse: the requirements of brisk, rapid dialogue obliged him often to use a language really neither prose nor verse. Then, after a long, meditative pause, which he employed in seeking a subject fitted to sustain his prodigious reputation, he decided upon "Chantecler" (which appeared in 1910). He was condemned to seek the effect of surprise as well as that of strength; he aimed to create an impression of teeming life, doing which he drowned himself in detail. Nevertheless "Chantecler" remains a great, though abortive, effort, interspersed with splendid passages. The play yielded him a million francs.

Dating from that time, a reaction set in. His shortcomings began to grow evident. Even in



EDMOND ROSTAND, THE FRENCH POET AND DRAMATIST

the remote provinces whoever claimed literary taste thought it "the thing" to regard Rostand as the Georges Ohnet of poetry.

It became incumbent upon the really cultured, those who had attacked him in his days of triumph, to rally to his defense and reinstate him in his rightful place.

His death will restore his prestige. It is the author of "Cyrano," above all, that the Paris of Victory has honored with an imposing funeral. That character was the incarnation of the people's heart in an epoch of their history.

Faults of style somewhat dim the beauty of "La Samaritaine," but it may be said that it will remain the wonder of connoisseurs; that it required genius to draw three acts from such a simple, brief story of the gospel.

As for "Cyrano," the writer reiterates that though an astounding masterpiece of its kind, it stands only at the head of a secondary order. He regrets the play for a special reason: it ruined Rostand, by turning him from the lofty path which he had so superbly commenced to tread. As a proof of this, after "Cyrano" his decline was rapid. He wrote scarcely anything besides "l'Aiglon," which is not to be rated high.

We must, however, do Rostand justice. Until the end he cherished a love for the beautiful and the noble ambition of producing a future masterpiece. Nothing proves that better than the small number of works he has left us.

AFTER-THE-WAR FLYING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

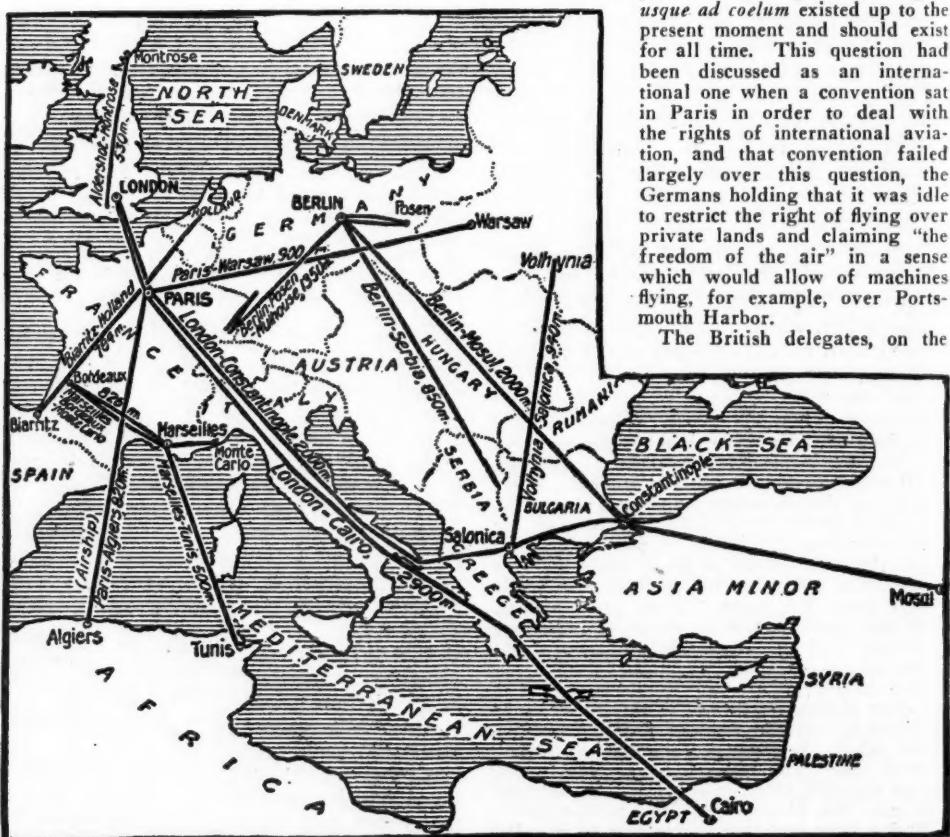
WHAT is the world going to do with the vast aeronautical material and personnel that it has accumulated during the war? What peacetime uses are available for the greatly improved aircraft and the highly skilled aviators that military exigencies have called into being? These questions are exciting keen interest on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Fortunately they had begun to receive attention long before the war ended, so that opinions are already maturing.

Great Britain has unquestionably taken the lead in preparing for aviation on a large scale in the period of peace and reconstruction. One evidence of this fact is afforded by the voluminous report presented to the British Air Council by the Civil Aerial Transport Committee, several abstracts of

which have recently appeared in the aeronautical journals and the newspapers. Copies of the original report, a document of some eighty pages, will probably be accessible to American readers before these lines appear in print, and will be perused with profound interest. The committee, which was large and authoritative, appears to have devoted a searching examination to the many pressing problems that have arisen with regard to the future use of aircraft for civil and commercial purposes, including the legal and political questions involved. Questions of law and policy were considered by a special committee, headed by Lord Sydenham. According to *Aeronautics* (London):

These questions raised at once the initial difficulty of the sovereignty of the air; that is to say, whether the old doctrine that the owner of a piece of land possessed rights *usque ad coelum* existed up to the present moment and should exist for all time. This question had been discussed as an international one when a convention sat in Paris in order to deal with the rights of international aviation, and that convention failed largely over this question, the Germans holding that it was idle to restrict the right of flying over private lands and claiming "the freedom of the air" in a sense which would allow of machines flying, for example, over Portsmouth Harbor.

The British delegates, on the



SOME OF THE LONG DISTANCE FLIGHTS ALREADY MADE

contrary, having in view, perhaps, what afterward occurred, took the contrary view, and held that there must be sovereign rights in any state to control the passage and use of its own air. The committee came to the conclusion that in any legislation there must be an assertion of the "sovereignty and rightful jurisdiction of the Crown over the air superincumbent on all parts of His Majesty's Dominions and the territorial waters adjacent thereto." They added that, in their opinion, the ordinary three-mile limit of territorial waters would not be sufficient for what may be called "territorial air," and they redrafted the original international convention for submission to the Foreign Office, and, it is hoped, for the consideration of another conference to be called shortly.

It is regarded as of the highest importance that this conference should be called immediately. At present there are no regulations governing flying on the Continent or foreign flying here. Methods of identification, of inspection, of passports, of Customs, the provision of landing stages, and the thousand and one matters which require consideration and settlement in regard to the new method of transport are still unsettled, and, whether or not Germany takes part in the conference, it is essential, in order that the change from military to civil aviation should not be delayed and complicated, that the conference should get to work at once.

Other special committees, constituted by the main committee, considered the various types of aeroplane, probable improvements therein, the provision of aerodromes and landing grounds, air routes, problems of production, and numerous scientific questions. Finally, says *Aeronautics*:

One question was discussed in several of the committees and in the main committee, which will have to be settled by Parliament—namely, whether commercial flying is to be undertaken as a big experiment in state socialism, or whether it is to be entrusted to individual enterprise, supplemented, so far as landing stages are concerned, by the assistance of the existing military organization or the exercise by the state of compulsory power of purchase. Some members of the committee were obviously inclined to favor a state experiment, but the special committee presided over by Lord Sydenham reported in favor of state encouragement of private enterprise and against what may be called a state socialistic experiment.

Other significant features of this interesting document are presented in the New York *Times*, where we read that

All the special committees appointed to consider different branches of the future of aeronautics agreed that the British Empire should attempt to lead the world in the air, and that all the dominions should be encouraged to build up huge air fleets for aerial mail and passenger transportation, as well as for protection against enemy attacks. None of the sixty members of the committee expressed any doubt

that within a few years passenger lines would be running to all parts of the world.

The members of the committee expressed the opinion that as soon as regular passenger routes had been established it would become a habit for business men to use airplanes on errands, and that soon it would become common for a man to fly 400 or 500 miles to see a customer and then return to his home in the same day. In addition to mails, it is suggested that planes be used to carry light and perishable goods and fruits, as well as precious metals and jewels.

Elsewhere the *Times* publishes an article on "Putting the Airplane to Peacetime Uses," which, besides emphasizing the military importance of developing a great fleet of aircraft in this country, available for many civilian uses when not needed for national defense, reveals the various activities which the Government has already undertaken in this direction, and which, with the exception of the aerial postal service, have not before been brought to the notice of the country at large.

Army planes manned by army pilots and observers and photographers are flying in squadrons of from three to eight machines from as many as twenty-five fields in the South and Southwest, in all directions, mapping and charting routes for the future, finding landing fields, and arousing public interest in the building of others.

Comparatively few localities, even with the great amount of cross-country flying that has been done, have had favorable opportunities for viewing flying machines closely. Planes have passed over the heads of most persons and gone from sight. The air mappers are under orders, therefore, to give exhibitions at each stopping place, describe the flying machines and engines to the inhabitants, take the mystery out of flying and make it simple and plain to all. Low-powered training planes only are used for this purpose, no machines formerly used for long-distance bombing being included in these early operations.

By next spring the work of mapping these air routes and the locating of landing fields will have been extended to the northwest. At least, if it is not interfered with, this is what the army air service plans to do. The flying force will also take the work into the northeast and the Northern Middle West. In short, the whole country will eventually be air mapped; an Air Blue Book created. The air service of the army will thus develop and carry on the work of the United States cavalry, which not so many years ago was riding the country locating the best roads and highways, fords, and bridges. For, as these things are necessary to horses, so are landing fields, gas, and oil supply necessary to the airmen if they are going to be allowed to develop the air lanes of the U. S. A.

In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for January 11, Mr. Evan J. David writes instructively on the business possibilities of the airplane.

MR. McADOO ON FEDERAL CONTROL OF THE RAILROADS

THE recommendation of Director General McAdoo that Congress extend the period of Federal control of the railroads for five years has concentrated the country's attention on the railroad problem and given rise to a vast amount of speculation as to the future ownership of the roads. Just before his retirement from office, as Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads, Mr. McAdoo permitted his views on the subject to be embodied in a special article which later appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* (January 5).

The present law, it will be recalled, provides for a continuation of Federal control for twenty-one months after the proclamation of peace. Mr. McAdoo holds that it is impracticable and unwise to continue to operate the railroads without an extension of this period. In the first place, he looks for a serious impairment of railroad morale. No other commercial or industrial activity requires an organization so greatly resembling that of an army. In the railroad business the same promptness, the same recognition of the value of discipline in all respects is required for efficiency as in an army. As the time draws near for resumption of control by the private owners of the roads, the allegiance of officers and subordinates is likely to be divided between the expiring Government control and the approaching private control.

Mr. McAdoo finds a further difficulty in the financial situation. Annual permanent improvements are, in his opinion, imperative for the maintenance of a national transportation system commensurate with the country's growing needs. Up to the signing of the armistice about \$600,000,000 had been spent in improvements during the year 1918. The authority for these expenditures was "the necessity of war," as recognized in the law. When hostilities ended this necessity could no longer be urged. A comprehensive plan for the improvement of the railroad system as a whole must be developed and adopted, but twenty-one months would be too short a time in which to make and apply such a plan, even with the full co-operation of the corporations owning the roads.

If the railroad corporations, thinking that the end of Federal control is in sight, prefer



"HE CAN'T LET GO!"
From the *World* (New York)

to wait, and make their own capital investments, Mr. McAdoo feels that the organizations will be more or less demoralized, assuming that the properties are kept by the Government for the twenty-one months only. His own plan of extension of Federal control contemplates a yearly expenditure for necessary improvements of not less than \$500,000,000, or \$2,500,000,000 for the five-year period.

Already the Government has accumulated much instructive experience concerning the management of railroads, and this experience should not be thrown away. Sooner or later the American people will have to decide between Government and private ownership. Since this problem is economic rather than political in its character, Mr. McAdoo maintains that the decision should be based upon the acceptance of an adequate test, and we are now provided with an opportunity for making such a test. He says:

If the period of Federal control is extended for a reasonable time, we shall be able to ascertain what can or can not be done with the railroads under unified management, and we will at the same time avoid the false conclusion into which political passion and prejudice may lead us. By extending the period of Federal control beyond the Presidential campaign of 1920, we shall defer final action upon this important question until the decision shall not affect the fortunes of a political candidate or a political party.

Up to this time the test has not been sufficient to show what is the right solution of the problem. We have had unified control under abnormal conditions—those of war. The great purpose was to win the war, and the railroads were operated primarily to that end. No one questions that they served this purpose with complete success. The roads were taken over when transportation was paralyzed. The congestion was relieved, troops and war materials were moved to the ports of embarkation without delay. The traveling and shipping public were slightly inconvenienced, but their inconvenience was chargeable to the abnormal conditions of war, not to the unified operation of the railroads. Our nor-

mal condition is that of peace, and a test that will lead us to the right conclusion must, therefore, be made during a period of peace. We now have an opportunity to make this test. It will be a great mistake if it is cast aside.

There is no general desire to return to old conditions in railroad management, and Mr. McAdoo believes that five years of Federal control would probably lead to a decision in favor of some form of centralized regulation under private ownership, rather than to outright Government ownership.

LOCALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

THE concentration of industry in a single region or city has doubtless puzzled many observers, and while in some instances local reasons are obvious enough, in others the cause does not lie on the surface, and is not easily divined. An interesting attempt to explain this phenomena in our industrial life, to show how it starts and why it grows and persists, has taken the form of an article in the *Scientific Monthly*, for January, by Professor Malcolm Keir, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The kind of facts with which this article deals is illustrated by the statements that, more than three-fourths of the collars and cuffs made in the United States come from Troy, New York; that silver plate in like proportion is manufactured at Meriden, Conn.; that tanning is centered at Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and that Paterson, New Jersey, is the home of silk manufacture. These are only a few instances, but it seems, on the whole, to be true, in this country at least, that "industry thrives best where it throngs most."

In the course of his article Dr. Keir shows that some localized industries have started because of accessibility to resources, either in raw materials and power, or unskilled labor, while others originated in particular places because they were nearer to their market, and a few by virtue of a monopoly control were permitted the choice of a desirable strategic location.

The presence of raw materials as a factor in giving rise to localization has many familiar examples. Thus, Chesapeake Bay is the greatest oyster bed to be found in America, and it is natural enough that Baltimore, as the metropolis of the bay, does more than two-thirds of the oyster-canning

business in the United States. Following the rule that the preserving industries grow up near the source of their materials, we have the salmon canneries of the Columbia River, the grape-juice factories of Pennsylvania and New York, the sweet-corn canneries of Maine, and the tomato canneries of New Jersey.

In some cases, industries that were called to particular places by resources and materials, have remained where they were started long after the local supply of crude stock has disappeared. This is true of the rubber-using factories of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Years ago large quantities of rubber came to the New England ports from the Amazon. Factories for using this material sprang up around Boston, Providence, and New Haven. Most of the rubber overshoes, boots, or arctics, made in the United States, are produced in the vicinity of those cities, because this was the original region of import, although crude rubber is seldom seen to-day on the docks of these cities. Most of it comes into the United States by way of New York.

Likewise the plated-jewelry industry centered in the Attleboroughs of Massachusetts, just outside of Providence, Rhode Island, is there in response to the fact that gold and silver from Spain, Portugal and the West Indies once were borne into Providence by home-bound commerce carriers. Since the European war opened, attention has been called to the predominance in firearms manufacture of three Connecticut cities; namely, Bridgeport, New Haven and Hartford. These cities are now famous for rifles and revolvers because at one time western Connecticut produced a grade of iron from local ores that was better fitted than that found anywhere else for making weapons or edge tools. In all of these cases, rubber mills, the jewelry factories or the firearms plants, the present-day greatness of the industries entirely overshadows the fact

that they came to the regions originally because raw materials were easily secured at those points.

Water power has, of course, assembled many industries in compact units around desirable power sites.

Accordingly, we find that one-third of the knit underwear made in the United States is furnished by a string of towns in the Mohawk Valley from Cohoes to Utica. This is due to the circumstance that the first knitting machine run by power was set up at Cohoes to take advantage of the large amount of power available at that place. American writing-paper manufacture centers at Holyoke, Massachusetts, because the reduction of rags to pulp requires a large amount of power, and the Connecticut River at Holyoke furnishes the greatest water power in New England. The falls and canal systems at Holyoke fixed the attention of engineers upon water-propelled mechanisms, and out of their studies improved turbines arose. As a consequence, Holyoke entered the field of machinery manufacture, so that later when Niagara was bridled, the great turbines that turn Niagara's energy into usable power were made at Holyoke.

This writer is compelled to admit, however, that none of the causes assigned for the localization of industry has been as effective as blind chance. Thus, Westfield, Massachusetts, now manufactures more than two-thirds of our whips because one irate

farmer, incensed by his neighbor's pillage of his willow hedge to belabor his horses, cut the willows himself, bound them with twine, and sold them to the erstwhile plunderers. That started an industry which has since made the town conspicuous among New England communities.

This is Dr. Keir's conclusion as to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of localization:

The disadvantages of a localized industry, namely, the distance from markets for raw materials and finished goods, the strength of labor unions, the multiplication of plants, the suffering in hard times and the creation of a labor class, are outweighed by the advantages. The ability to secure the right labor, the ease of selling and advantages in buying recommend to an employer the place already established in an industry. On the part of the employees, security of jobs and opportunity for organization among the workers are strong lures toward a center recognized for a particular class of work. Therefore an industry started by a local resource or by accident continues to grow in one spot through the branching of new plants from old ones, through new concerns organized by sons or superintendents, through the advancement that comes by subdivision of product and through the accumulation of small factories that make use of waste products. Localization is therefore a persistent feature of industry.

THE LAST REPUBLIC OF THE HINDUS

CERTAIN hitherto obscure facts regarding republican government among the Hindus are disclosed in an article contributed to the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for November last, by Kunwar Shiv Nath Singh Sengar, Bikaner. It is regarded as an historical fact, now well established, that there were many republics in India about the beginning of the Buddhistic period. This article, however, shows that the little republic of Lakhnesar, founded in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, lasted for about five hundred years. The republic was founded by the clan of Sengars, whose code of government required priests, village workmen and menials to render service in lieu of lands that they held. The Sengars, in their turn, took upon themselves all responsibility for the government and defense of the country. Justice was said to be "cheap, instantaneous and easy to obtain."

Ordinarily all the routine work of government was attended to by elderly Sengars but in time of war each and every male member of the

brotherhood capable of bearing arms deemed it his duty to render military service in the defense of the country. There was no age limit. None but Sengars were liable to a call to arms. They always kept themselves militarily prepared and every third year in the month of Baisakh (Vaisakha) all ablebodied Sengars, duly armed and accoutred, met in thousands for a general inspection by the elders of the clan of the combined armed strength of the brotherhood.

Although on more than one occasion the Republic had to pay tribute to Mohammedan kings, it enjoyed complete internal independence throughout the period of Musulman domination.

The Sengars maintained the internal independence of Lakhnesar almost unimpaired down to the early years of British rule, beginning in 1781. Government memoirs of the period state:

Before the establishment of the British authority the Sengars of Lakhnesar had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for their courage, independence and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first years of our administration.

A HEBREW UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM

THE laying of the cornerstone of a Hebrew university on the Mount of Olives, in July last, attracted less attention throughout the world than might have been the case in time of peace. Nevertheless, official telegrams of congratulation were received from the governments of England and France and from representatives of different universities all over the world, even from Spain and Portugal. In his New Year message about Zionism President Wilson said: "I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew university, with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth."

Writing from the Zionist viewpoint, Dr. Ben Zion Mossinsohn, in the *Menorah Journal* (New York) for December, outlines the vision that has come to the founders of this enterprise, shows why they believe that a Hebrew university must be planted on the soil of Palestine, why the Hebrew language should be revived, why the university should be started at once, and what is likely to be the effect on the world status of the Jew.

Those who have opposed the project, even in Zionist circles, have questioned whether the Hebrew language is sufficiently developed to meet the needs of the university. They have also asked, "Where will the teachers come from, and the students; what will be the practical basis for such a university; what will the students do after they leave its walls; where will the necessary money be obtained for such an enterprise?" A partial answer to these questions is given by Dr. Mossinsohn in relating the history of a similar undertaking on a small scale. In 1906 a group of young teachers and students, living in Palestine, decided to open a high school or academy in Palestine. The institution began work with seventeen pupils and four teachers. In 1914, before the outbreak of the Great War, it had over nine hundred pupils and thirty teachers. Dr. Mossinsohn says:

The curriculum was given in Hebrew exclusively and the diplomas of the gymnasium were recognized by all the universities in Europe and most of the universities in America. The high standard of knowledge of the pupils was recognized all over the world. With a need came the teachers. Young Jews began to study Hebrew

and to prepare themselves to become teachers for different subjects. And even money was found. The gymnasium in Jaffa has now one of the most beautiful buildings in the Orient, and in the last few years before the war it was almost sustained by the income derived from tuition. It will be far easier to solve all these problems for the university. The gymnasium stood on the shoulders of the little village schools where the poor teachers lived who laid the foundation for Hebrew as the language of teaching. The university will rest upon the walls created by the gymnasium, the teachers' seminary in Jerusalem, and the other higher schools which exist in Palestine.

This Jewish writer is optimistic regarding the prospects of higher Hebrew education in Palestine. He believes that teachers and pupils will flock to the institution from all over the world.

They will learn Hebrew; in the surroundings of Palestinian life it will be easy for them. And there will be enough students in Palestine. They will come from all over the world—some of them driven by the pressure of their environment, but the larger number by a controlling desire to go because of a proud ambition to create as Jews, in their own name and in their own way. The practical future of the Jewish student is perhaps far more assured there than anywhere in the world. Palestine will undergo a great revival. To be attached to the civilization of the world, it will need a vast number of schooled forces in all branches of life. It will require trained medical men, lawyers and judges, engineers, teachers and men of other professions. Not only Palestine, but all the Orient is going to be revived and will need thousands of intelligent workers. Students of a university in Jerusalem educated in the Orient for the Orient, with an understanding of its needs and with a love for its future, will play their part. They will be a valuable means in bringing this revival into life.

Dr. Mossinsohn believes that these young students, returning to their home countries after a period of study in Palestine, will bring a new spirit into the Jewish communities throughout the world. As to the money needs, he suggests that American Jews, who know how American universities and other institutions of learning have been founded by private donations, will be the first to understand their opportunity and duty towards a Hebrew university in Palestine. Some Jews, in his opinion, will be more willing to give for a cultural enterprise in Palestine than for political colonization work there. This cultural work will really be a part of the revival of Jewish national life.

THE ITALIAN MERCHANT MARINE

ITALY'S crying need for a greater merchant marine was already recognized by all competent judges, even before the beginning of the war, and her experiences in the throes of the terrible conflict only intensified a condition from which she had long suffered.

It is true that Italian commerce received less injury from the attacks of submarines than did that of England or France, because of the southern route taken by the steamers going to and from the Italian ports; but as in time of peace only one-quarter of the imports from foreign lands was carried by Italy's own ships, the continually decreasing number of vessels that the Allies could place at her disposal rendered it a matter of the very greatest difficulty to secure the absolutely necessary supplies for her subsistence and for the needs of her army.

That Italy must now take energetic steps to remedy this state of affairs is insisted upon by the Italian Admiral and Senator, C. Corsi, in an article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). This writer says that if to have a companion in misery would be any alleviation of Italy's troubles, she might find this in recognizing that even the United States Government was forced to depend upon foreign aid to as great an extent. However, the conditions were radically different, as the immense and varied territory of the United States rendered it possible, in case of need, to produce all absolutely necessary supplies at home. None the less, the crisis through which the world has just passed has already caused the United States to initiate a policy that will result in the creation of a gigantic merchant marine, sailing under the national flag.

The vital question for Italy is whether she is ready to profit by the hard lessons taught her by the war. Who can say how much misery and how many difficulties might have been spared if, with her own ships, she had been able to maintain her maritime commerce?

Italy has improvised many things during the war, but one thing it was impossible for her to improvise—an adequate merchant marine. When, having escaped from the stress of war, both government and governed are able to think over the mortifications they have been forced to endure in imploring friendly nations not to deny at

least a part of the tonnage on which Italy had supinely counted in time of peace, it is to be hoped that this will arouse a healthy reaction from the previous apathy, and will reawaken the maritime spirit of the people, without which any faith in its political, commercial, or industrial future will be vain.

The question of Italy's merchant marine is in Admiral Corsi's view a fundamental one for the development of her economic prosperity, and as such it is one requiring the vigilant and fostering care of the government; but it is not through this alone that the new organism can arise. It is essentially by the initiative of the citizens, by the combined energy of the whole people acting together for the rebirth of Italy's former maritime greatness, that Italian hopes can be realized.

It is necessary that all, both of the higher and of the humbler classes, shall familiarize themselves with the idea of the sea, even though they may never have viewed it, that they shall learn to appreciate the advantages conferred on the country by the extent of its coasts, that they shall recognize how the sea gives Italy the power to maintain communications with all parts of the world, and thus to satisfy many of her principal needs.

The idea of the sea must penetrate our very pores, rule over our thoughts, associate itself with all our conceptions of national and international politics, of social and individual economics, with our industrial, artistic and literary activities, and naturally with our colonial enterprises.

Long ago, when Italy held third, if not second, rank among the maritime nations, her ships not only served for her own traffic, but also for that of other lands, constituting in this way a notable source of wealth for the home country. Hence it is that not only her growing commercial requirements should stimulate her marine activities, but also the prospect of sharing in the ever-increasing tide of world traffic.

Every day brings new evidence of the readiness of Italian capital to embark in industrial enterprises, and there should be even greater inducement to invest it in the building of merchant vessels that will bring to Italy the raw materials she needs and export her productions to foreign lands. Thus she will be freed from the heavy tribute she has been forced to pay in time of peace for foreign tonnage.

OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

ONE important economic consequence of the war was the partial suspension of the intimate commercial relations that heretofore existed between a great part of Latin America and Europe. The extent to which these relations are likely to be resumed under post-bellum conditions is discussed in an article on "Inter-American Commerce—Before and After the War" in the *Bulletin* (Washington). Here we find it stated that

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war the inter-American commerce of the Latin-American Republics represented something more than one-half of their total foreign commerce; that is to say, the interchange of products between the Latin-American countries themselves plus their trade with the United States and with Canada and other British, French, and Dutch possessions in America was equal in value to the total trade of the twenty Republics with England, France, Germany, and all the remainder of the world combined. This fact is often lost sight of. The trade of the Latin-American Republics with the United States alone was between 25 and 30 per cent. of their total trade and a nearly equal amount represented the trade with the other American countries and among themselves. In 1913 the figures were: Total trade, \$2,874,629,054; with the United States, \$810,079,843; other inter-American trade, approximately \$760,000,000. This last figure can never be stated exactly because of the character of a considerable portion of the trade between the Republics being frontier, very intimate, and for the most part free of duties, it receives no statistical or an imperfect statistical recognition. Since the beginning of the war the proportion of inter-American trade to the total of Latin-American trade has increased until now it represents more than three-fourths of that total.

Of course the lack of shipping and other circumstances connected with the war would furnish ample reasons for a temporary reduction in the European trade of Latin America, but the writer believes that there are other and deep-seated reasons why this trade was bound to decline. America, it is said, is coming to realize her own resources and there is a conscious trend toward independence of Europe, in economic as well as other directions.

It is a step in the material progress of industrially new countries that at the beginning they must depend upon the outside world as a market for raw products and surplus food, the only products that they can produce wherewithal to create wealth. It is a necessary, but in a sense ineconomic development, to be discontinued just as soon as a better use for the raw products can

be found in national manufacturing industries and an increase in population sufficient to utilize the surplus food.

America as a whole is approaching this condition. It is ceasing to depend upon Europe. Its raw products in greater volume are being utilized within itself and the resulting increase in manufacture is supplying its own needs for factory goods. This was true before the war.

In the United States the American continent possesses the greatest manufacturing country in the world, with a manufacturing equipment more than equal to that of England and Germany combined. Before the war the United States imported more raw material for manufactures from Latin America than did the countries of Europe, but failed to import food products other than sugar, coffee, cacao, and fruits. Its failure to import wheat, corn, and meat from Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay reduced its trade with those countries below that of Great Britain and Germany. Neither did it import much nitrate from Chile, nor much of Bolivia's leading product, tin, from that country.

The growth of manufacturing industries in America, not only in the United States but in Canada and in Latin America, will in a very short period absorb the total product of industrial raw material produced on the continent. In other words, the condition which now exists during the war would inevitably have been arrived at in a few years had there been no war. The war does not materially change the progress of events in this particular.

With peace, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay will continue to supply Europe with meat and grain, but a larger proportion of their industrial raw products will be utilized by manufacture within the countries themselves or go to the United States and other American countries. Chilean nitrate will again go to Europe, but a much larger share than before the war will remain to the United States. Whether Bolivian tin will continue to go to England or go to the United States, which consumes about half the tin of the world, will depend upon the future attainments of inventive genius. If new processes of smelting produce a nonferruginous product as suitable as British or Straits tin for plating sheet iron then Bolivian tin, like Bolivian wolfram and copper, will also find its chief market on this side of the ocean.

With the awakening in all America of a knowledge and an appreciation of its own industrial raw products has occurred an even greater awakening in knowledge of its manufactured products. For this, in some aspects, the war is almost entirely responsible. In particular is this true in some

parts of Latin America. Just as in the United States, where for fifty years and more people were accustomed to use Java and Mocha coffee under the impression that what they were drinking was produced in the Dutch East Indies and Arabia, when in reality nearly all of the Java and Mocha came from Brazil or other American countries, so in Argentina and Chile, United States manufacturers have been consumed in large quantities under the impression that they were European. The condition was not exactly parallel to the coffee case in that there was no intention

to deceive. Misapprehension arose from the fact that United States goods were brought in English or German ships and sold in English, German, French, and Italian shops. Neither the United States flag on the ship nor the United States name over the shop door existed to correct the natural inference on the part of the buyer that United States goods were not procurable. A few knew better, just as in the United States a few knew that "Mocha" coffee was in reality Rio "pea berry."

The war has brought a fuller knowledge.

A POET-PAINTER OF LEBANON

SYRIA, at last, is to have self-determination together with the other subject countries of the world. Conquered and oppressed by one nation after another throughout the centuries, and last by the impossible Turk, Syria, because of the rebellious spirit of the Arabs in the nomadic provinces, has always been imperfectly subjugated. The Arabs never lost the traditions of their ancient culture and held stubbornly to the hope of ultimate liberation. Now that Damascus, Beirut, and Lebanon are in the hands of the British, all the blended races of Greek, Roman, and European Crusader grafted upon Semitic stock from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf have hope of nationality. From the basis of nationality the old culture will arise poured in new molds.

From Lebanon, near the Lebanon mountains, "the one green spot in Turkey," comes the Syrian poet-painter, Kahlil Gibran. He is a scion of an ancient Lebanon family living only three-fourths of a mile from the famous groves of cedars whence came the trees that were builded into King Solomon's Temple and floated in rafts to Egypt to build temples to the Gods of Egypt in the Nile cities. Mr. Gibran is the author of eight books in Arabic—poetry, poetic prose, parables, and plays that circulate among the 200,000,000 peoples of the Arabic-speaking world.

"The Madman,"¹ a collection of parables and poems with four drawings, published last month, is his first volume in English. It contains thirty parables and a few poems,

which are like most of the ancient Arabic literature—condensed, satirical, with their gold beaten thin, so that no superfluous word mars their rhythms or obstructs their sense. The poetry depends largely upon assonance for its lyrical beauty.

"The Madman" is a solitary personage called "madman" because he unmasks himself in the market place of human knowledge, strives to behold the depth of man's soul through the thin veils of man's wisdom and man's moral ethics. He loves life, and he hates life's shams. He would shake the giant tree not only to eliminate its dead branches but also to send its roots deeper into earth.

An early book by Mr. Gibran, "A Bellious Spirit," exerted great influence in the younger Arabic circles. This work demanded the rescue of the spirit of religion from dogma, the reality of life from its shams, the being from the seeming of existence. A forthcoming volume in English is called: "The Prophet." This book will contain twenty-one prophecies facing twenty-one full-page drawings. As an artist, Mr. Gibran is a follower of Blake and Rodin. With Rodin he joins his definite patterns in art to the infinite by direct symbolism; with Blake, he is a lover of the free bounding line. The human form is to him the one eternal perfect symbol.

Mr. Gibran has great hopes for the future of Syrian and Arabic culture. He thinks that the Near East has a very great deal to give now that for the first time it is open to the Occidental world. With self-government and reconstruction, education will flourish, and literature and art be reborn in Syria.



KAHLIL GIBRAN

¹The Madman. By Kahlil Gibran. Knopf. 71 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Lincoln, the Practical Mystic. By Francis Grierson. John Lane Company. 93 pp. \$1.

Because the author is a man of vision and of unusual analytical power this picture of Lincoln as the "practical mystic" is a real contribution to the voluminous Lincoln literature of our day. It embodies not merely Mr. Grierson's own view of Lincoln's personality, but the pith of several important contemporary estimates. A book by the same author, entitled "The Valley of Shadows," which appeared several years ago, contains a picturesque account of Lincoln's life in Illinois before the Civil War and particularly of the famous Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Uncle Joe's Lincoln. By Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H. Revell Company. 171 pp. Ill. \$1.

A fascinating tale of how the message of Abraham Lincoln was brought to Hungary by a returned veteran of the Civil War, and how the figure of the Martyr President was visualized for a group of youthful Hungarians, almost all of whom later became enthusiastic and worthy citizens of the United States. To our readers who are already familiar with Professor Steiner's vivid style we need not say that the interest of the narrative is sustained from beginning to end. It is a capital book to put in the hands of young Americans of European descent.

Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation. By A. Maurice Low. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 291 pp. Ill. \$2.

The time is yet far distant when a definitive life of President Wilson can be written; but a book like Mr. Low's will be a great help to the biographer when he comes to his task. It makes use of the President's writings and official acts in so far as they reveal the motives and mainsprings of his career. The author's analysis of these is impartial, clear, and convincing. Twenty years' observation of American politics has qualified Mr. Low to write wisely and judiciously concerning the remarkable place in national leadership now held by Woodrow Wilson. As an Englishman he writes with a certain detachment impossible for an American.



A. MAURICE LOW
Wilson can be writ-

HISTORY AND REFERENCE

The Development of the United States. By Max Farrand. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 355 pp. \$1.50.

Professor Farrand, who holds a professorship of history at Yale, gives in this volume an interpretation of American history which, while it presupposes a general knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader, is yet sufficiently simple and elementary in its methods of treatment to meet popular needs. A single introductory chapter is devoted to the period of colonization. The rest of the book is concerned with the growth and welding of the nation from a loose federation of States to the compact, well-organized world power that it is to-day. The author's indebtedness to the modern historical school for its explanation of the rapid western expansion of our American democracy is generally acknowledged and in reality forms the keynote of the book.

The People of Action. By Gustave Rodriguez. Charles Scribner's Sons. 250 pp. \$1.50.

A study and interpretation of American ideal-

ism by a French scholar. According to this interpretation, the American is before all else a man of action, of efficiency. He is an individualist and his idealism is chiefly unconscious. American culture, from the French viewpoint, requires about as much comment in an estimate of this kind as the famous chapter on the snakes of Ireland. The whole book, however, is conceived in admirable spirit and is evidently a genuine effort to promote intimacy in Franco-American relations.

A Short History of France. By Mary Duclaux (A. Mary F. Robinson). G. P. Putnam's Sons. 345 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A convenient résumé of French history from Cæsar's time to the Battle of Waterloo.

The Tragedy of Armenia. By Bertha S. Papazian. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 164 pp. \$1.

All that most of us know about Armenia has to do with her recent troubles. We can understand why the title of this book—"The Tragedy of Armenia"—is applicable to the facts of mod-

ern history, but we should miss the full significance of this title if we lost sight of the fact that the whole record of Armenia from the beginning has been in every sense a tragedy. Although the nation is known to us chiefly through its sufferings, there are other sides of the story, and the author of this little book has done a real service in setting forth something of the character of the Armenians and the part they have played in the world's history.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. By S. M. Dubnow. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. Vol. II. 429 pp. \$1.50.

The second volume of this scholarly work, translated from the Russian, treats of the history of Russian Jewry from the death of Alexander I (1825) until the death of Alexander III (1894). The reign of Alexander III, briefest of the three reigns described in this volume, is treated at greater length than the others because in the author's view the events that occurred during the fourteen years of that reign "laid their indelible impress upon Russian Jewry, and have had a determining influence upon the growth and development of American Israel."

British-American Discords and Concords. By The History Circle. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 70 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

The membership of the History Circle is made up of professional historians, business men, editors, engineers, writers, and others. A committee of these members has given labor for over a year to the preparation of this monograph. Pro-

fessors in the leading universities have also given the service of their own research and of criticism. The monograph sums up the relations between England and America during the three centuries that have elapsed since Englishmen first settled on this continent. Although the main purpose of the narrative is to present facts, the text is by no means lacking in the quality of human interest and philosophy.

The United States Catalog Supplement: Books Published, 1912-1917. The H. W. Wilson Company, 2298 pp. \$48.

Magazine and newspaper offices that have much to do with books, and especially with current publications, would not know how to get on without the "United States Catalog" in which are listed the books and pamphlets in the English language published in the United States, together with the chief importations. The H. W. Wilson Company, who are the publishers of this indispensable work, have just issued a supplement covering the years from 1912 to 1917, inclusive. This volume is arranged on the same plan as the original catalog, by author, title and subject. It gives such data concerning each publication as we are accustomed to give from month to month in connection with the book notices appearing in this department of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. A special feature of this supplement, which will be appreciated by all users of recent books, is the group of references to the literature of the Great War. This includes every important publication on the subject in the English language up to January 1, 1918.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

"The Future Belongs to the People." By Karl Liebknecht. The Macmillan Company. 144 pp. \$1.25.

An English translation of the speeches made since the beginning of the war by the German Socialist leader, who was released from prison shortly before the armistice was signed, and until he was killed by soldiers was a conspicuous figure in the revolutionary movement.

The Peak of the Load. By Mildred Aldrich. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company. 277 pp. \$1.35.

The third of the series that began with "A Hill-Top on the Marne," in which an American woman told her unusual experiences in an old French country house which was situated almost at the very spot where the first battle of the Marne, in September, 1914, reached its high-water mark. A second volume, "On the Edge of the War Zone," told the story of her life in France from the Battle of the Marne to the entrance of the Stars and Stripes. In this new book she describes the months of waiting on the hill-top from the time of America's entrance in the war to the second victory on the Marne in the summer of 1918. It was an interesting coincidence that at the time of the last German ad-

vance on the Marne it was American troops that were assigned to defend that portion of the line nearest to the "house on the hill-top."

The Great Change. By Charles Wood, Boni & Liveright. 192 pp. \$1.50.

A series of interviews originally printed in the editorial section of the Sunday edition of the *New York World*. Together they form an outline of the work which has been accomplished under the leadership of the various boards in control of the industrial activities of the United States Government for the duration of the war. The men interviewed are: Bernard M. Baruch, Charles M. Schwab, Felix Frankfurter, Mary Van Kleek, Professor John Dewey, Franklin K. Lane, Robert S. Woodworth, A. W. Shaw, Frank P. Walsh, H. L. Gantt, Henry Dwight Chapin, and Charles Steinmetz. Out of the changes actually brought about by the necessity of winning the war, Mr. Wood visions, not indeed a Utopia, but coöperation, where production will be carried on in the fullest sense for use, not for profit. He thinks that the "Great Change" has made it possible for us to look forward to the economic independence of every man, woman, and child, to a general access to the means of culture, and to the end of economic insecurity not only among the poor, but among the rich.

SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS, POLITICS

Fair Play for the Workers. By Percy Stickney Grant. Moffat, Yard and Company. 368 pp. \$1.60.

Now and then comes a book that cannot be discussed apart from the personality of its author. So it is with "Fair Play for the Workers." The words in this title may mean little or much, but a man with the personal force of Dr. Percy Stickney Grant can give such a combination of words a telling impact. A quarter of a century of service as rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York has made known in



DR. PERCY STICKNEY
GRANT

discussions that Dr. Grant has succeeded in putting so clearly in this volume the vital issues that make up the complex frequently spoken of as "the labor question." "The Workingman and Patriotism," "The Americanizing of the Immigrant Worker," "Physical Betterment—the Function of the State," "Unjust Laws and How to Remedy Them," "The Waste of Ignorance and Competition," "The Economic Influence of Religion," and "What the Workingmen Want—Industrial Self-Government" are some of the chapter headings. These topics are all treated from the standpoint of direct contact with the facts. There is no "bookishness" in Dr. Grant's presentation, any more than in his methods of research. Everything that he says is based on his actual knowledge of an existing situation.

The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency. By Frederic S. Lee. Longmans, Green & Company. 119 pp. \$1.10.

Briefly, the author's contention in this book is that "any activity in which the human body plays so large a part as it does in industry must be organized on a physiological basis before the highest degree of efficiency can be secured." The facts that he presents in this book largely relate to war industries, but they illustrate principles that will remain applicable to general industry long after the war has ended.

Industry and Humanity. By W. L. Mackenzie King. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 567 pp. Ill. \$3.

A study in the principle underlying industrial reconstruction by the former Canadian Minister of Labor, who has acted as conciliator in many important strikes, and has investigated industrial relations for the Rockefeller Foundation. No one needs to be told that the problem of more efficient relations between employer and employee is fundamental in any attempt at industrial reconstruction. Mr. Mackenzie King's work in this field has a basis both in economic literature and in his own personal experience. It is a helpful contribution at this time.

Municipal House-Cleaning. By William Parr Capes and Jeanne R. Carpenter. E. P. Dutton & Company. 232 pp. \$6.

A useful compilation on the methods and experiences of American cities in collecting and disposing of ashes, rubbish, garbage, sewage and street refuse. The authors have not over-estimated the importance of cleanliness as a municipal ideal. Keeping the city clean is one of the most urgent duties of its officials. It cannot be neglected if the citizens are to enjoy health, happiness, or comfort.

The Results of Municipal Electric Lighting in Massachusetts. By Edmond Earle Lincoln. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 484 pp. \$3.

The Hart Schaffner and Marx Prize Essay for 1918 is an exhaustive study of municipal electric lighting in the State of Massachusetts. This State was selected because it is the only one which has kept adequate records over a period of years. The use that the author makes of the data afforded by these records should in itself suggest to other states and communities the need of collecting and properly recording such information. The writer, however, did not confine himself to examining and analyzing printed data, but made a personal survey of the lighting plants under both forms of management.

American Cities. By Arthur Benson Gilbert. The Macmillan Company. 240 pp. \$1.50.

A discussion of municipal business methods, from the standpoint of city promotion. The author believes that in the near future the American city will become a powerful force making for the business success of its citizens. He acknowledges indebtedness to the teachings and influences of the late Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, who in his opinion was the first man in the United States to grasp clearly the principles by which cities must be promoted.

The Little Democracy. By Ida Clyde Clarke. D. Appleton and Company. 253 pp. \$1.50.

A marked impetus was given to the Community Center movement by the war. The use in all parts of the country of the schoolhouse as a center of war work has familiarized the people with the idea of community co-operation

for common causes. In the textbook called "The Little Democracy," Ida Clyde Clarke summarizes what has been done by the United States Department of Agriculture in the way of directing cooperative work in the rural districts, and describes concrete illustrations of community work in school, market, bank, garden and kitchen, and tells what has been accomplished by the boys, and girls, and mothers, and daughters, clubs, organized in accordance with the department's plan. There are also chapters on community music and community drama. Commissioner Claxton, of the Bureau of Education supplies an introduction to the volume.

The A B C of Exhibit-Planning. By Evert G. Routzahn and Mary Swain Routzahn. The Russell Sage Foundation. 234 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The Russell Sage Foundation, which has been responsible for most of the surveys and exhibits for promoting social welfare that have become so popular in this country during the past ten years, is also taking the initiative in providing a series of practical manuals which may be used by social workers everywhere in preparing exhibits of this kind. The first volume of the series gives attention mainly to the initial stages of exhibit production, the period when decisions are being made as to scope, purpose and methods. The authors of this book have themselves planned many exhibits, and most of the suggestions that they offer in this book have been thoroughly tested in practise.

Our Cities Awake. By Morris Llewellyn Cooke. Doubleday, Page & Company. 351 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Notes of recent progress in municipal government, illustrated by many interesting facts in the

administration of several of the larger American cities. The author, who was formerly Director of Public Works in the city of Philadelphia, writes from the standpoint of the practical administrator, in close contact with vital present-day problems of city government. Secretary Baker, who was himself for several years Mayor of Cleveland, contributes a foreword.

The Young Woman Citizen. By Mary Austin. Woman's Press. 169 pp. \$1.35.

Mrs. Austin addresses the young woman citizen in order to awaken her to a sense of her moral obligations in planning the establishment of a world-democracy. She asks women to see that they have failed in serious undertakings because they were not willing to be a unit of the common life. The book is built upon the hope that a new day in world politics has come, a day that will see righteousness triumphant through the "combined efforts of men and women who have faith in each other and are willing to pay the costs of social awareness."

Preparing Women for Citizenship. By Helen Ring Robinson. Macmillan. 130 pp. \$1.

Admirable counsel from an experienced woman legislator as to the attainment of the steady mood of good citizenship. No other book gives more competent answers to the puzzled questionings of the newly made women citizens of the States that have granted women suffrage. Carrie Chapman Catt says: "No one can write more forcefully and literally, hitting the nail right on the head with an awful clip, than Helen Ring Robinson." Her question, "Where do we go from here?" is the one which every thinking woman throughout the wide, wide world is asking herself to-day.

EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY, AND STUDIES OF THE CREATIVE MIND

Originality. By T. Sharper Knowlson, Philadelphia: Lippincott. 303 pp. \$3.50.

The changes in educative methods in England and the ferment and discussion of educative method in this country arise from two main sources. One is a truth long realized by thinking men and women, that modern education fails to develop originality and provide ground-soil for the creative mind; the second is the fact that the stimulus attendant upon the prosecution of the war actually achieved what education had so long been aiming at. Mr. Knowlson tells us how the war developed originality and why, and shows us beyond doubt that not youth alone, but maturity, may freely tap the wells of ideas and creative thinking. He points the way to the highest physical, mental, and spiritual efficiency, by means of suggestions and formulas for the cultivation of originality and inspiration, and by explanation of the laws governing them. The illustrations are drawn from actual circumstances in the lives of noted individuals. According to his categories, there are six basic

laws of inspiration and seven major hindrances to originality. Special chapters discuss the origin of ideas, the pathology of thinking, the natural history of genius, etc. It is not possible to give an accurate idea of this work, or a proper appreciation of its great value in a few sentences. It is a gospel of the new education, based upon the fundamental idea that originality is the perception of new unities, that urges attention in educative processes to individual tendencies. It is written in a popular, readable style that will appeal to all classes of readers.

The Organization of Thought. By A. N. Whitehead, Sc. D., F. R. S., Philadelphia: Lippincott, 228 pp. \$2.

This book contains a series of thought-compelling and stimulating lectures, brought together in a single volume because of a certain line of reflection common to them all. The first paper, "The Aims of Education—A Plea For Reform," is the most suggestive discourse on the new processes of education, largely brought about by the

events—of the war, that is at present available to parents and educators. It is a terse, clear-visioned view of the present needs of the world educationally speaking. Professor Whitehead writes: "Culture is activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty, and human feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it." He asks educators to beware of "inert ideas," ideas thrown into the mind of the child, which cannot be utilized in fresh combinations. Education, he holds to be "the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." The four succeeding discourses deal with education. They are "Technical Education And Its Relation To Science and Literature," "A Polytechnic In Wartime," "The Mathematical Curriculum," and "The Principles of Mathematics in Relation to Elementary Teaching." The three remaining papers discuss points arising in the philosophy of science. They are: "The Organization of Thought," "The Anatomy of Some Scientific Ideas," and "Space, Time, And Reality."

The Psychology of the Future. By Émile Boirac. Stokes, 322 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A previous translation, "Our Hidden Forces," from the French of M. Boirac's *La Psychologie Inconnue*, achieved instant popular success when published in this country. The present translation from *L'Avenir des Sciences Psychiques*, will undoubtedly, because of its fascination of style and scientific trustworthiness, win the same approval. Professor Boirac approaches the claims of thought-transference, "X-Ray vision," automatic writing, psychic and mental healing, and the question of survival after death, purely from the scientific point of view. He has carried the claims of the half-informed, and the realm of hocus-pocus, into the laboratory and emerged triumphant with the basis of a new science. One of his proven results is the confirmation of the fact that the human body can radiate a powerful energy which is capable of producing effects at hand, or at a distance. The description of his various experiments will interest all readers and prove of particular value to teachers, to parents, and those who have charge of the sick, the insane, and of criminals. His conclusions lead to the development of creative energy in the individual to the end of efficiency in every department of life.

The Will to Freedom. By Rev. John Neville Figgis, D.D., Litt. D. Scribner's. 320 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Figgis's estimate of Friedrich Nietzsche was originally delivered in the form of lectures in May, 1915, on the Gross Foundation, at the Lake Forest College, Illinois. The discourses show us how the teachings of the poet-prophet whose name has re-echoed with a sinister sound through the minds of men during the war, stand with Christianity as "a house of life for men." The Nietzschean doctrines have been treated with rare breadth and understanding. Dr. Figgis finds them to be—in his estimation—an excellent bitter tonic, but a poor food. He sees that beyond the pitfalls of a superficial study of Nietzsche, lies a certain ground where the sterner doctrines of the mad philosopher harmonize with much that is best in Christianity. In Nietzsche's recog-

nition of evil, in his sense of the tragic and tremendous greatness of life, he brought back to Christianity, one quality necessary to a real religion—the awe of God. It is one of the few books—out of the many written on and around Nietzsche—that presents his teachings as a whole, and gives a really definite idea of the man.

Architecture and Democracy. By Claude Bragdon. Knopf, Ill. 213 pp. \$2.

Although this book is in a sense a technical discussion of architecture, symbols, ornament, etc., it more properly belongs with the studies of the creative mind, since the essays are written to uphold a philosophical point of view rather than for their technical values. They include subjects as diverse as skyscrapers and the state of the soul. In the first paper, Mr. Bragdon writes enthusiastically of our sky-towering architecture. He feels these buildings as feats of subtle engineering that, gripping light and space firmly in knitted ribs of steel, project the workers of the world into a region of equal light. They are, he writes, the concrete of "Live openly," the answer to the cry—"Let us have light." Among his illustrations of this art of democracy, are the Woolworth Building, the Prudential Building, of Buffalo, by Louis Sullivan, and the graceful Rodin Studios of Cass Gilbert's designing in West 57th Street, New York.

Psychical Phenomena and the War. By Hereward Carrington. Dodd, Mead. 363 pp. \$2.

A serious attempt to study the psychological forces moving behind the phenomena of the world war. The material is divided into two portions. Part first examines the psychology of the German methods of warfare, of frightfulness, etc., that of the soldier of any army during preparation for combat, during the attack and throughout post battle states, shell shock, fatigue, illness, etc. Part second studies the probable condition of the slain soldiers after death. The observations are mostly drawn from the experiences of soldiers on the Franco-British front and include the now well-circulated reports of the appearance on the battlefields in moments of anticipated defeat of Jeanne d'Arc, St. George, St. Michael, and the Bowmen of Agincourt. The apparitions appearing to soldiers, their dreams, and clairvoyant descriptions of the moment of death all afford interesting material for Mr. Carrington's pen. The volume is offered as an argument that man is essentially spirit, as opposed to the German philosophy that expounds the doctrine that man is essentially body. The value of psychological data of the war has been approved by the French Government, which commends the publication in the *Bulletin des Armées* of an appeal by Professor Charles Richet for psychical experiences and "cases" similar to those collected in this volume. Since Christianity itself is based largely upon a psychical fact, the Resurrection, and since, to quote a soldier's sentence, "human separation means little; that which is really ourselves is the ardor of our soul," any evidence that leads to knowledge of the individualized survival of this ardor after death demands our interest and gratitude.

UNUSUAL POETRY



ILLUSTRATION FROM "JAPANESE PRINTS"

A BOOK of delicate lyrics that will delight the connoisseur of verse is a translation, by James Whitall, from the French of Judith Gautier, of "Chinese Lyrics" from the Book of Jade. The poems are prefaced by the beautiful "preface" that explains the growth of the fame of a poet in China, where such fame is less ephemeral than in the Occident. Madame Gautier wrote: "Twelve centuries before Orpheus and fifteen before Homer, the Chinese poets were singing their verses to the music of the lyre, and they are unique in that they are singing still, almost in the same language and to the same melodies." In China, no poet may presume to judge his own verses. At gatherings of scholars each poet sings his own verses in turn and if the poems be exceptional the scholars beg the privilege of copying them. These copies are kept in note-books and copied afresh or read from time to time at similar gatherings. "Thus in a select circle, the name of a poet diffuses itself like an agreeable perfume." An independent or an unknown author may write his verses on the wall of a quarter-entrance, where people can stop and read them and make comment, or copy the text, but a century or more usually elapses before a book is formed like a bouquet of rare flowers.

Among the names of Chinese poets that posterity has gathered throughout the ages for the bouquet of immortality, the most notable are the poets, Li-Tai-Pe, Thou-Fou, Ouan-Ouey, Tchan-

¹ Chinese Lyrics. By Judith Gautier. Translated by James Whitall. Huebsch. 53 pp. \$1

Jo-Su, and Ouan-Tchan-Lin. Of these Li-Tai-Pe and Thou-Fou are acclaimed as the greatest. They are said, in the beautiful Chinese simile, to have flown nearest Paradise. Lo-Tai-Pe, according to the legend, was translated, even as Enoch, to immortality while still in the flesh. He was carried down into the image of the Moon in the clear waters on the back of a dolphin, accompanied by two young Immortals, messengers of the Lord of the Skies. Thou-Fou held the post of Imperial Censor to the Emperor. His censorship proved too severe for his imperial master and the poet was exiled from court. In his poem "Mid-Autumn," he gives vent to his grief.

One woman, Ly-y-Hane, seems to have held first rank among the poets of the Song Dynasty in the twelfth century of our era. Like Sappho, she sang of unrequited love. "One might say she was a flower become enamoured of a bird; with neither voice nor wings, she can only suffuse her passion-scented soul as she prepares to die."

The principal rules of Chinese versification are similar to our own—the line division, the caesura, the rhyme, the rules for the quatrain, etc. The ideographic nature of Chinese characters gives charm to their poetry; one visions the thought of the poem from the appearance of the writing. To-day in China, as of old, the words and music are always united; the poems are not recited but sung, and in most cases the singing is accompanied by the Chinese lyre, the "Kine." One of the loveliest lyrics of these translations is called "A Young Poet Dreams of His Beloved Who Lives Across the River."

"The moon floats to the bosom of the sky
and rests there like a lover;
the evening wind passes over the lake,
touches and passes
kissing the happy shivering waters.

"How serene the joy,
when things that are made for each other
meet and are joined;
but, ah,—
how rarely they meet and are joined,
the things that are made for each other."

Sao-Nan.

"Japanese Prints,"² a series of poems in Japanese forms, by John Gould Fletcher, are written after certain designs of the Uki-oye, or Passing World School of Japanese prints. They have a delicate chiseled beauty which will be appreciated by the connoisseur of poetry. Amy Lowell says of Mr. Fletcher in "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry," that "no living poet has more distinction of vision or style."

Akin to Japanese and Chinese poems are the imagistic lyrics of David O'Neil.³ They are mountain flowers growing on cool peaks far above the jungle of the poetry of the immediate time. Like most Chinese lyrics, and like those inimitable Cinquains of the late Adelaide Crapsey, their formless magic opens a door upon a stream of subtle images, quite beyond even the suggestion

² Japanese Prints. By John Gould Fletcher. Four Seas Co. 93 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

³ A Cabinet of Jade. By David O'Neil. Boston: Four Seas Co. 106 pp. \$1.25.

of the poem. The collection is, however, of unequal merit. It should have been pruned more severely. Some of the verse falls like the sound of a shallow gong, that beats in vain against the door of dream and magic, but the best of it has definite style, and real beauty which promises much for Mr. O'Neil's future work. The 'lyric, "A Vase of Chinese Ivory," shows one of the sudden flashes of deep insight that bind within his verse a more than transient loveliness.

"In the museum
It had no name:
It was only the life-work
Of one almond-eyed heathen—
Look closer
And you will see
A soul
Unique and beautiful."

Another book of lyrics for the lover of the rare and the little-known poetry is, "Corn From Olde Fieldes,"¹ an anthology of English poems from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, collected and edited by Eleanor M. Brougham. Masterpieces of this period have been excluded to give place to poems of merit and beauty that through neglect have threatened to disappear altogether. There are four divisions: Religion, Love, Death, and Miscellany, which together contain approximately two hundred poems only slightly known to the general public. A scholarly and interesting note accompanies each poem, thus rendering the book of great use to students as well as a delight to lovers of tuneful poetry. Many of the poems have never been reprinted from the original editions, or have appeared only in books not obtainable by the public. A beautiful poem, "Peace," by Henry Vaughn, who professed himself the "least of the many pious converts of George Herbert," is particularly appropriate to the present time. The poem is taken from "Silex Scintillans, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations, London, Printed by T. W., for H. Blunden at ye Castle in Cornewhill, 1650."

Peace

"My soul, there is a country
Far beyond the stars,
Where stands a winged sentry
All skilful in the wars:
There above noise and danger,
Sweet Peace sits, crowned with smiles,
And One born in a manger
Commands 'the beauteous files.
He is thy gracious Friend,
And—Oh, my soul, awake!—

"Did in pure love descend
To die here for thy sake.
If thou can get but thither,
There grows the flower of Peace,
The Rose that cannot wither,
Thy fortress, and thy ease.
Leave then thy foolish ranges;
For none can thee secure
But one who never changes—
Thy God, thy life, thy cure."

Henry Vaughn.

¹Corn From Olde Fieldes. By Eleanor Brougham. John Lane, 298 pp. \$1.50.

Sixty poems of modern France² selected from the works of thirty French poets have been translated, with notes and an introduction offering a new theory of translation, by Ludwig Lewisohn. The first part of the work gives a critical account of the poetry of modern France and an analysis of the spiritual needs that have created it, its qualities and triumphs, and service to national ideals. The poets represented are: Stéphane Mallarmé, Paul Verlaine, Arthur Rimbaud, Georges Rodenbach, Emile Verhaeren, Jean Moréas, Jules Laforgue, Henri de Régnier, Francis Vielé-Griffin, Gustave Kahn, Stuart Merrill, Maurice Maeterlinck, Remy de Gourmont, Albert Samain, Edmond Rostand, Francis Jammes, Charles Guérin, Henri Bataille, Paul Fort, Pierre Louys, Camille Mauclair, Henri Barbusse, Fernand Gregh, Paul Souchon, Henri Spiess, Maurice Magre, Léo Languier, Charles Vildrac, Georges Duhamel, Émile Despax.

Two volumes of Rabindranath Tagore's latest poems are bound together under one cover—"Lover's Gift" and "Crossing."³ The lyrics are in the familiar rhythms used by Tagore, the free verse of his "Gitanjali," and a form more nearly approximating rhythmic prose. Many of them are psalms of fervent praise over the joy in the universe that is manifest and the inner garden of delight perceived by the eye of the soul.

"Gitanjali" and "Fruit Gathering" are also bound together in uniform edition. The illustrations are by Abindranath Tagore and other well-known East Indian artists.⁴

Margaret Widdemer's recent verse is collected under the title of one of her most popular magazine poems, "The Old Road to Paradise."⁵ One of the finest lyrics in the collection is the second poem, "The Old Kings," with its prophetic ending:

"Cry the long swords sheathed again,
Cry the pennons furled,
Lest under Ragnarok,
Lie the shattered world."

The sociological studies of a previous volume, "The Factories and Other Poems," are missing from this gathering. The lyrics are largely subjective, love songs, emotional reactions, bits of heartache and weariness, and poems that open upon cool spaces of elemental delight. "The Dark Cavalier," "The Swan Child," and "The Grey Magician," please with their beautiful melodic rhythms and carefully-wrought tone-color.

"The Garden of Remembrance,"⁶ by James Terry White, contains many singing lyrics that have been set to music, and others of such quality as will tempt musical composers. The poems are delicate and fanciful, with a flavor of Herrick, and a breath of antique beauty, which is evidenced in their admirable restraint. Serene elegance of form holds, like a precious vase, the many-colored flowers of the poet's thoughts.

²Poets of Modern France. Translated by Ludwig Lewisohn. Huebsch. 199 pp. \$1.

³Lover's Gift and Crossing. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 158 pp. \$1.50.

⁴Gitanjali and Fruit Gathering. By Rabindranath Tagore. 251 pp. \$2.50.

⁵The Old Road to Paradise. By Margaret Widdemer. Holt. 124 pp. \$1.25.

⁶The Garden of Remembrance. By James Terry White. James T. White Co. 132 pp. \$1.25.

ENTERTAINING AND INSTRUCTIVE BOOKS FOR BOYS

THE books briefly noted here are from experienced writers who desire to be of service to the nation by giving their best to the great army of growing boys. Never before in the history of our country have there been at one time so many excellent and instructive books written especially for young American manhood.

One of the most remarkable and stirring books for boys written since the beginning of the war is "Joining the Colors,"¹ by Captain Charles A. Botsford of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Before the United States went into the war, many bright American boys went over to Canada and threw in their lot with the Allies. Captain Botsford tells the story of some of these boys from the inside point of view of an officer of the Canadian army. It is a book that tells the truth. Necessary as the author deems the great sacrifice of our youth, he does not gloss over the actual events of war. The illustrations are by R. L. Boyer and Ralph Coleman.

In "The Book of Woodcraft,"² Ernest Thompson Seton has enlarged and developed the woodcraft principles set forth in his earlier manual, "The Birch-Bark Roll." It is a real book of knowledge of out-of-doors written especially for Boy Scouts, but useful to persons of either sex and of any age.

Dan Beard, National Scout Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America, has prepared "The American Boys' Book of Signs, Signals and Symbols."³ For years, Mr. Beard has been working on these ideographs, picturegraphs, tramps', yeggmen's, scouts', trappers', gypsies', and Indian signs. Those symbols have been selected which will be of use to Boy Scouts in the service of their country, and to the automobilist, hunter, and explorer who wishes a complete understanding of the language of signs.

Mr. A. Russell Bond, assistant editor of the *Scientific American* has written "The American Boys' Engineering Book."⁴ With the assistance of this volume a bright boy can construct his own workshop and make necessary engineering improvements about his home at very little cost. Two hundred and fifty diagrams show just how to do all the interesting and useful things, Mr. Bond writes about.

"The Gun Book,"⁵ by Thomas Heron McKee, is a book about all kinds of guns for boys of all ages. The story begins with the guns of olden days made by local blacksmiths and leads

¹Joining The Colors. By Captain Charles A. Botsford, C. E. F. Philadelphia: Penn Co. 347 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

²The Book of Woodcraft. By Ernest Thompson Seton. Doubleday, Page. 567 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

³American Boys' Book of Signs, Signals, and Symbols. By Dan Beard. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 250 pp. Ill. \$2.

⁴The American Boys' Engineering Book. By A. Russell Bond. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 309 pp. \$2.

⁵The Gun Book. By Thomas Heron McKee. Holt. 357 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

on down to the story of the rifles, the machine guns, monster cannon, and mortars used in the war. It is the only popular comprehensive book on this particular subject.

The life stories of fifteen famous Indian chiefs are told in "Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains,"⁶ by the man who knew them best, Charles A. Eastman. Since the author is himself, a full-blooded Sioux, he is able to interpret Indian character, its admirable qualities of calmness, strength, vigor, and fearlessness, better than any one else.

"Lone Bull's Mistake,"⁷ a splendid Indian story, by James Willard Schultz, was pronounced by the readers of the *Youth's Companion*, where it first appeared, the best of all Mr. Schultz's Indian stories. It tells of the adventures of a rebellious Blackfoot Indian and his family after his punishment for a breach of the tribe's hunting laws. The author is one of our most famous old-time frontiersmen and Indian fighters, and an Indian by adoption into the Blackfoot tribe.

Arthur A. Carey has varied the stories of the adventures of Boy Scouts on land, by writing "Boy Scouts at Sea."⁸ These boys went on an actual cruise, had boat races, swimming matches, and were storm tossed on the open seas. Boys who love the ocean, or who have aspirations to join the navy will enjoy this thrilling story.

"Captain Kituk"⁹ is a tale of an Eskimo lad and his adventures and ambitions, written by Roy J. Snell, who knows the Eskimos and their land from years of experience among them. It is delightfully told and has all the color and atmosphere of the regions of the far north.

An inspiring, patriotic book that will interest every live boy, is "The Call to the Colors,"¹⁰ by Charles Tenney Jackson. It tells the story of an American boy, Jimmie May, who is sent first with General Pershing's Expedition to Mexico, and later goes over seas "somewhere in France" with the American Expeditionary Force.

"Captain Ted"¹¹ will find a warm place in the heart of every Boy Scout. Ted is a real American boy, too young to join the army, but old enough to be instrumental in rounding up a camp of slackers in the great Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia. The author, Louis Pendleton, understands how to write just the kind of story an ambitious patriotic boy likes to read.

⁶Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains. By Charles A. Eastman. Little, Brown. 241 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

⁷Lone Bull's Mistake. By James Willard Schultz. Houghton, Mifflin. 208 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

⁸Boy Scouts at Sea. By Arthur A. Carey. Little, Brown. 292 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

⁹Captain Kituk. By Roy J. Snell. Little, Brown. 225 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

¹⁰The Call to the Colors. By Charles Tenney Jackson. Appleton. 214 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

¹¹Captain Ted. By Louis Pendleton. Appleton. 316 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

TWO HISTORICAL NOVELS: THE EPIC ROMANCE OF FLANDERS

AS a setting for his historical novel, "Java Head," Joseph Hergesheimer has taken the town of Old Salem at the beginning of the great clipper-ship era of the American merchant marine. The narrative draws us into that romantic period of mercantile development, when cargoes from the East Indies, China, and Japan were piled on the docks of our Eastern seaboard ports. In New England homesteads, one may still see the treasure trove of these voyages—furniture of Chinese teak, ivories and jades mingling with the delicate English Chippendales. The novelist introduces the exotic and the Oriental into Salem, by letting us see the arrival at the port of Salem, of Gerrit Ammidien, a Salem shipmaster who has returned from China with Taou Yuen, a Manchu wife, he has married out of an impulse of chivalry to save her life. The story seems at times no more than a frame for this exquisite aristocratic creature with her painted slightly flattened oval face, her gleaming jades, and "enigmatic black eyes under delicately arched brows." Through the vehicle of her personality, the strange, inscrutable life of the East is pitted against the life of Salem with its equally inscrutable standards. In the end Salem triumphs. Taou Yuen escapes, gravely, as becomes a Manchu lady of high degree, and the shipmaster takes up his old life. Mr. Hergesheimer is a Pennsylvanian, but this novel is as truly of New England as the vignettes of Mary Wilkins Freeman, the novels of Alice Brown, and the poetry of Robert Frost. For penetrating psychology, beauty of color, vivid characterization, and careful workmanship, it is not only the best work Mr. Hergesheimer has done, but one deserving high praise in a select company of American fiction. It has the power to immerse the reader in strange, distant, and almost forgotten currents of life.

Donald McElroy,² a romantic novel by W. W. Caldwell, weaves into its structure incidents of the American Revolution and pictures the part played by the Scotch Irish settlers in this country, not only in the actual conflict, but in the upbuilding of the commonwealth. It is not a large canvas, but wisely so; the intensive working out of the characterization gives a power to the narrative that could not have obtained if a more pretentious novel had been attempted. The author writes with deep insight of the enmity that has existed from the early settlement of the colonies, between the Scotch Irish Protestants and the Irish Catholics. This religious difference gives intensity to the main romance of the book, the wooing of Ellen O'Neil, a devoted Catholic, by her cousin, Donald McElroy, a Scotch Irish Presbyterian. While the story is valuable for its perspective on our early national history, it succeeds as a simple and enthralling love story, one that for its unworldliness and spiritual sensitiveness will remind the reader

¹ Java Head. By Joseph Hergesheimer. Knopf. 255 pp. \$1.50.

² Donald McElroy. By W. W. Caldwell. Philadelphia: Jacobs. 351 pp. Ill. \$1.35.



ONE OF DELSTANCHE'S DRAWINGS FOR
"ULENSPIEGEL" (TYL AND NELE)

of Lorna Doone. The characterization of the two lovers, Donald and Ellen, is a distinct achievement, the more quickening for its complete simplicity.

The first English translation of Charles de Coster's famous story of Flanders, "The Legend of Tyl Ulenspiegel,"³ has been rendered from the original French by Geoffrey Whitworth. Frankly Rabelaisian in its style, it is the epic romance of the Flemish race during the Sixteenth Century, when Belgium suffered under the yoke of Philip of Spain. Tyl is a hero of the people, the upspringing spirit of Democracy that can never die in the heart of man. Nele, the maiden beloved by Tyl, is "Mother Flanders." Caes and Soetkin, his father and mother, are the fatherhood and motherhood of Belgium. Lamme Goedzak is the great belly of the land, and the tragic Kathelene, an enigmatic figure, seems to typify the madness and suffering of Flanders under the oppression of the Spanish Inquisition. The author lived and died (1879) in obscurity. It was not until a decade after his death, that he was accorded recognition, a monument raised in his honor in Brussels, and an oration in his praise delivered by Camille Lemonnier. This edition is somewhat condensed owing to the necessities of war printing, but the continuity of incident has been maintained. The full-page illustrations are from wood cuts by Albert Delstanche.

³The Legend of Tyl Ulenspiegel. By Charles de Coster. McBride. 302 pp. \$2.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—CREDIT POSITION OF THE TRACTION COMPANIES

A CROSS the financial skies, as the new year dawned, there were some ominous clouds. Investors watched them develop with some forebodings. There was the cloud of desire for government ownership of railroads. This may break and the sunshine of reason and wisdom come through after some investigation of just what a twelve-months' period of federal operation has produced. The blackest cloud of all is that enveloping the public utilities. On New Year's Eve a receivership for the Brooklyn Rapid Transit system, the main artery of urban and suburban traffic in a large portion of Greater New York, was sought and obtained by creditors. A few days before dividends had been passed on the stock of the Chicago City Railways, a corporation with a twenty-five-year-old dividend record in which payments as high as 24 per cent., and for a long period from 10 to 8 per cent., had been made. Simultaneously the stock of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, of St. Paul and Minneapolis, sold at \$32 a share, or just one-third of its price in 1917. This had long been regarded as one of the soundest traction properties in the country and had sold at a premium of from \$10 to \$15 over par for many years. When January first came a number of traction and light-and-power concerns in different portions of the United States found themselves without funds to meet the interest due on bonds.

The Public's Attitude

It has been estimated that the shrinkage of the principal of the bond and share capital and of the notes of the various traction companies in Greater New York, during 1918, was approximately \$250,000,000. This meant that the equities in many stocks had been almost entirely erased, that junior bonds had fallen to the price level of low-grade stocks, that first-mortgage bonds and notes had shrunk in market value to a basis normally represented by stocks paying moderate dividends.

From the standpoint of credit and of pub-

lic, or it might better be termed, political, sentiment, the public utilities, more specifically the "tractions," are to-day about where the steam carriers were in December, 1917. There is a state of mind toward them that reckons not with what they have to endure from the high costs of wages and of materials, but with what the public may have had to swallow in other days in the form of unjust franchises, stock "watering," the political dishonesty connected with "deals" in favor of the company and to the injury of the traveling public. It is significant that very little opposition has been made to the readjustment of rates for gas or electric light or power to the new expense accounts. But, where municipalities undertake to assist the street-car line by raising fares, there is apt to be the sequel of public indignation. In Denver recently it took the form of refusal to pay the new tariff and some damage to property.

Then there is the obvious intent of certain municipalities to depreciate traction values by refusing higher fares and so bring the companies to a credit condition where they will be willing to sell out to the city at a very low price. This is a factor in the situation that must be recognized and reckoned with. There are signs of it in New York. There are plain suggestions of it in Chicago and in St. Paul.

Managers' Failure to Get on with the Public

On the other hand traction managers, even of this generation, have not well enough understood their relationship to the public. It has been a notorious fact that service on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit lines was inadequate. This was before the stock of the company ceased to pay dividends. Equipment was poor and insufficient for a growing, crowding population. Patrons who feel that they have been treated unfairly, and then have been witness to an accident that cost scores of lives, sacrificed to incompetence, are not in a mood to lift their voices for higher fares, even though they know that what they

pay five cents for costs more than six cents to produce.

An understanding of the crowd psychology has not been one of the major accomplishments of the traction administrations of Greater New York. There is no service in the world that can compare with that of the Interborough Rapid Transit subway lines in Manhattan, but it has been lack of tact, rather than lack of cars and standing room that has brought public criticism of operations. The best way to resist both government ownership of railroads and public administration of city tractions is to go a considerable way along with the public thought on both questions and all the while provide service and meet public complaints with a certain amount of good nature.

The Demand for Higher Fares

Ex-President Taft recognized the animosity of the public toward the public utility, with its "high visibility," in an address made before the Investment Bankers' Association at Atlantic City in December. As chairman of the wage adjustment board he had observed the justice of higher fares in compensation for higher rates of pay. So have other representatives of the Government. As long ago as last spring Comptroller of the Currency Williams advocated a plan that would stabilize the credit of the public utilities of this country. Not all of this suggestion and recommendation has fallen on barren ground. Nearly 350 companies have been protected from financial trouble by higher fares. These have been allowed in a number of cities of the first class.

A striking example is that of Boston, whose surface, elevated and subway lines have recently been placed in the hands of a board of trustees. The law regulating the operation of these lines provides a guaranteed return on the capital invested. If the revenue from fares does not cover this guarantee the deficit must be raised by taxation. Formerly the fare was 5 cents, as in Greater New York. Now it is 8 cents. In a considerable portion of eastern Massachusetts the Public Service Commission has granted a cash fare of 10 cents. It was found that the recommended advance from 5 to 7 cents was not sufficient to absorb the higher war costs. On the same day that the Board of Estimate of New York refused to consider the proposition of an 8-cent fare for the subway lines of that city and annulment of the transfer on the surface roads there were a number of

grants of higher fare to suburban roads in territory not many hundreds of miles distant from New York. In New Jersey, after a long fight, the Public Service Corporation, succeeded in obtaining a 7-cent flat fare, with an additional 1 cent charge for a transfer, but this did not save the dividend on the stock of the company, which had to be reduced from 8 per cent to 4 per cent.

It is estimated that the par value of the electric railways of New York State, including New York City, is \$1,250,000,000. This is about one-fifth of the total of the entire country. The investment in the bonds and guaranteed stock of these railways is held by institutions, estates and many small investors. For years the guaranteed 7-per cent stock of the Manhattan Elevated has been considered as a prime, or "gilt-edged" issue. It sold at one time at \$175 a share or a yield basis of 4 per cent. Since the critical situation has developed in the New York traction situation it has declined under \$80 a share. A great credit structure is involved in the early decisions of the New York authorities as to compensation adequate for payment of fixed charges and fair dividends. Fortunately the rest of the country has been broader-minded on this question than either the municipal or State authorities and has acted independently of them in a great many instances.

Graduated Fares Based on Distance

One objection that has been raised to the grant of higher traction fares now is that these will give the operating companies an undue percentage of profit when normal conditions return in wages and in costs of materials. Before the war was declared by this country against Germany the advance in costs had begun to eat into the vitals of all but the strongest of the traction lines. The tendency to allow long hauls for the five-cent fare had worked a great strain on credit. There had not been much reason shown in developing a graduated fare in which compensation was based on the distance a passenger had to be carried. A man does not ride from New York to Springfield, Mass., say, on a steam road, for the same fare as he pays to ride from New York to Poughkeepsie. But, in New York City, he pays no less to ride from 23d to 34th street or half a mile than he does to ride from Brooklyn to Bronx Park, or nearly seventeen miles. There is duplication of this system all over the United States, but not on

such a scale as in New York, where the so-called "nickel fetish" has been carried to the extreme.

Operating Costs Will Continue High

Quick readjustment of wages and prices of materials is not expected by those who have given the subject closest attention. It is doubtful if in either item there is within this generation a return to the former units of measurement. Certainly wages are not likely to return to the old basis. There was no class of labor in the country which received such an inadequate wage in pre-war times as that employed on the traction lines throughout the country. This is officially recognized. Greater efficiency may be developed, though not great enough efficiency to offset the gross increase in pay. It is not just, therefore, to base rates on the presumption that former operating costs will be in effect within a few months.

The question of public-utility compensation must be settled very soon. In the March quarter of 1919 the maturing obligations of utilities are about \$85,000,000 and in the June quarter over \$60,000,000. For the entire year they reach \$262,000,000. Interstate Commerce Commissioner Wolley, in an argument before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee in January, for a five-

year extension of government rail control, mentioned these maturities as likely to be affected by unfavorable railroad credit in the event that the carriers were thrown back on their own financial resources.

Legislative Action Sought

The subject of supervision of public utilities is probably receiving more attention among legislative bodies than ever before. The newly elected Governor of New York State gave it much consideration in his annual message and Governor Holcomb of Connecticut, at the beginning of his third term, asked for the appointment of a special commission to inquire into the electric situation in his State. He pointed out that railways are being operated at a loss, with conditions threatening that may lead to heavy investment depreciation and suspension of service. The most difficult fact to establish in the mind of the local law-maker who refuses to grant living rates is that while he may bring about receivership by his policy he will also create conditions of travel that will be unbearable to the public. Unfortunately for security holders, financial disasters seem to be necessary before realization of the unfair conditions in the background of many of these credit collapses is shown by regulating bodies.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

CANADIAN PACIFIC BONDS

Do you consider the 6 per cent. debenture bonds of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, due 1924, a safe investment.

We have always looked upon these bonds as a safe investment and have not hesitated to recommend them to people whose circumstances demand care and conservation in the employment of their surplus funds.

ADVICE ON SPECIAL VENTURES

I occasionally have money that I am willing to use in speculative ventures provided there is an honest chance of making the profit corresponding to the risk taken. I must confess, however, that various moderate sums I have employed under what I believed to be were the above conditions in the past two years have mostly been lost. In these cases, however, later developments have shown that there never was any honest chance. I consequently attribute my failures in the past to lack of sufficient information. I wonder if you could tell me of any ventures having an honest chance of turning out well and producing large profit.

We are entirely unable to be of service in the way you suggest. We have never felt that we could undertake to assume the heavy responsibility involved in selecting essentially speculative securities for our readers or in any way to give specific advice about the purchase or sale of such securities. We are always glad to analyze specu-

lative securities as well as investment securities and to report frankly whatever conclusions we are able to form, but further than that we cannot go.

ABOUT FILING OWNERSHIP CERTIFICATES WITH BOND COUPONS

Can you tell me where I can get a booklet giving information as to the proper certificate form to use in cashing bond coupons. I have had considerable trouble in this respect lately. Does a person paying the federal income tax annually use a different form of certificate than one who does not pay the tax.

We do not know of any booklet that you would find of service in connection with the difficulties you have been having in cashing coupons from your bonds. In order to determine the proper form of ownership certificate to file with coupons it is necessary to know whether the companies issuing the bonds do or do not covenant to pay the normal income tax. There are records giving the status of most bonds in this respect. These records your local banker ought to have. If he does not and you will send us a list of your bond holdings we shall be glad to give you proper instruction. Determination of the proper certificate to file does not in any way depend upon whether the bond holder is or is not liable to the payment of the income tax.